The Secret History of the Mongols

Translated and edited by

FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES

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The Secret History of the Mongols

For the First Time

Done into English out of the Original Tongue

and

Provided with an Exegetical Commentary

BY

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VOLUME I

(TRANSLATION)

Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

LONDON, ENGLAND

1982

This work was completed in 1956 and set in type in 1957. For personal reasons it was set aside and not published until the present.

Printed in the United States of America

Typeset by the J. H. Furst Company, Baltimore, Maryland

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HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih. English.
The secret history of the Mongols.

Includes indices.

1. Mongols—History. I. Cleaves, Francis Woodman.

II. Title.
DS19.Y7813 950'.2 CK-39271 81-20014
ISBN 0-674-79670-5 AACR2

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To the Memory

of

My Beloved Father and Mother

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a as *a* in *father*
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d as *d* in *day*
e as *e* in *net*
f as *f* in *fall*
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γ as *γ* in Greek *ἀγάπη*
h as *h* in *hall*
i as *i* in *machine*
ǰ as *j* in *jest*
k as *k* in *kitchen*
l as *l* in *lot*
m as *m* in *man*
n as *n* in *name*
o as *o* in *cost*
ö as *ö* in German *hören*
q as *ch* in German *noch*
r as *r* in *rain*
s as *s* in *sun*
š as *sh* in *show*
t as *t* in *ten*
u as *oo* in *moon*
ü as *ü* in German *über*
w as *w* in *win*
y as *y* in *year*

In his learned *Essay on the Principles of Translation*[1] Alex. Fraser TYTLER formulated three general laws under each of which "are comprehended a variety of subordinate precepts." I hope, in the words of Isaac WALTON, the eminent biographer of Dr. Robert SANDERSON,[2] that I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of TYTLER's laws, to wit: "I. That the Translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work"; "II. That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original"; and "III. That the Translation should have all the ease of original composition."

How grievously I have offended against TYTLER's laws in doing into English for the first time *The Secret History of the Mongols* I must leave to the good judgment of my reader. Although, in the exposition of his principles, TYTLER dealt primarily with the problem of translation from such Indo-European languages as Greek and Latin, the universality of his general laws is not in the least impaired by their application to the translation of an Altaic language.

In rendering the text I have attempted to "give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work." If there is detectable in the translation any retrenchment, howsoever insignificant, it is attributable to inadvertency, not to intention. In superadding, however, words and phrases which do not appear in the original but seem necessary for its complete understanding, I have, I confess, departed from the practice of the translators of the Holy Scriptures of which, insofar as practicable, I have taken the Authorized Version of 1611 as a model for the language and style of my translation. After their practice, in rendering, for example,

[1] The Third Edition, with Large Additions and Alterations, Edinburgh, 1813, pp. xvi + 486 (p. 16).

[2] *The Lives of Dr. John Donne; Sir Henry Wotton; Mr. Richard Hooker; Mr. George Herbert; and Dr. Robert Sanderson*, York, 1796, pp. 407-503 (p. 477).

the sentence Καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον in the twenty-second verse of the twenty-second chapter of *The Gospel According to S. Matthew* the translators italicized the words which they superadded: "When they had heard *these wordes*, they marueiled, and left him, and went their way." This practice, to mention but one instance out of many, was followed by the great English sinologist, James LEGGE. Thus, for example, the words 曾子曰，愼終追遠 are rendered in his translation of the *Lun-yü* 論語, that is, the *Confucian Analects*:[3] "The philosopher Tsăng said, 'Let there be a careful attention *to perform the funeral rites* to parents, and let them be followed when long gone *with the ceremonies of sacrifice*; . . .'" More than a century before LEGGE's time, however, Elizabeth CARTER elected to set within brackets the superadded words and phrases in her monumental translation of Epictetus.[4] Thus, on page 126 of *All the Works of Epictetus, Which are Now Extant* we find the words ὅπου γὰρ τὸ χαίρειν εὐλόγως, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ συγχαίρειν translated in this manner: "For where there is a reaſonable Cauſe of Rejoicing, there is likewiſe [a reaſonable Cauſe] of Congratulation." Although I can readily anticipate the protestations and criticisms of those to whom the appearance of brackets in a translation is objectionable, if not disagreeable, I am of the opinion that with the function of italics otherwise conceived in modern usage, the translator who considers it a responsibility to make a distinction in his translation between what is in the original and what is superadded has little choice in the matter. Lest my use of brackets, however meticulous, be carried to a point of absurdity, I have not, as a rule, set within them the articles, definite and indefinite, the pronouns of the third person, singular and plural, the preposition of the genitive case, when such a case is implied merely by the relationship between two juxtaposed words in the original text, and diverse auxiliary verbs such as *may*, *might*, *shall*, *will*,

[3] *The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, in Seven Volumes, Second Edition, Revised, Vol. I Containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean, Oxford, 1893, p. 141.

[4] *All the Works of Epictetus, Which are Now Extant; Consisting of His Discourses, Preserved by Arrian, in Four Books, The Enchiridion, and Fragments*, London, 1758.

should, would, et cetera, when the verbal forms of the original make their use in translation mandatory.

Apprehending "that the style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original" and with a view to conserving the archaic flavor of the original text, I have cast my translation, insofar as to me seemed practicable, except in the matter of orthography, into the language of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures, thinking its vocabulary and style to be singularly consonant with that of the Mongolian original. Although the verse of the Mongolian text lends itself more readily to such a manner of translation than the prose with its oftentimes seemingly interminable periods, yet, as I recollect, I have not compromised faithfulness to the original through any paramount consideration for consistency either of vocabulary or style, especially in the case of vocables and acceptations alien to the language and content of the Holy Scriptures.

Mindful "that the translation should have all the ease of original composition," I have spared no pains to make it as readable as my limited talents would allow; yet, when I recall TYTLER's proposition "that he only is perfectly accomplished for the duty of translator who possesses a genius akin to that of the original author," [5] I can but publicly acknowledge my deficiencies. Thinking it, however, to be an unwarranted conceit to beg the reader's indulgence for its imperfections, I venture rather to express the hope that my translation will serve to induce others to try their own hand at turning the original into English, for *The Secret History of the Mongols* is not only the capital monument of thirteenth-century Mongolian literature, but it is one of the great literary monuments of the world. Because of the problems it presents as an early text, a definitive translation is out of the question until generations of scholarship have been consecrated to its study.

In the transcription of Mongolian names and terms I have rigorously adhered to the generally accepted scientific manner of transcribing Middle Mongolian in the belief that this would be less confusing to my readers than were I to accommodate the

[5] TYTLER, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

transcriptions to the spelling habits of English alone. Consonant for consonant and vowel for vowel the transcription represents as faithfully as possible the sounds of the original language as they are represented in the Chinese transcription. For the guidance of the reader who is not acquainted with the values of the letters used in the transcription I have subjoined a simple "Table of Sounds."

With a view to facilitating reference to the original text in Chinese transcription, I have maintained its arbitrary, if not injudicious, division into twelve chapters—properly ten and two of continuation—with its even more arbitrary, if not more injudicious, division into 282 sections [6] and have set within brackets the foliation of the original, indicating the *recto* and *verso* of each folio.

In publishing *The Secret History of the Mongols* in two volumes, one of translation and one of commentary, I have deviated from my original plan which envisaged the publication first of the original text, next of the concordance of vocables, and finally of the translation with an exegetical commentary. In so doing, I have followed the counsel of some of my colleagues whose opinion it was that priority should be given to the publication of the translation. I have also followed their counsel in the plan to publish the commentary in a second volume. As precedents for this, they justifiably cited Arthur WALEY's *The Book of Songs Translated from the Chinese* [7] and his *Supplement Containing Textual Notes* [8] as well as William HUNG's *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* [9] and his *A Supplementary Volume of Notes for Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet.*[10] The translation, therefore, as originally conceived according to this plan, was not provided with footnotes. Yet it was soon to become apparent to those of my colleagues who had occasion to read parts of the translation without such notes that much was destined to be lost not only to the general reader, but

[6] Cf. WALTON's remark on "the tranflation of James I.," *op. cit.*, p. 418, n. n: "The very injudicious divifion of the text into chapters and verfes has been long a matter of complaint."

[7] Boston and New York, 1937.

[8] London and Boston, 1937.

[9] Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952.

[10] Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952.

also to the specialist, if certain remarks were not made for their immediate enlightenment. I then added the present footnotes which represent a compromise between each of the two extremes—that with none and that with as many as, in the opinion of the specialist, the translation would appear to require. With this premise, I am constrained to say that it would, indeed, be remarkable, were the indifferent reader to look upon the fruit of this compromise without some sense of dissatisfaction. I hope, however, that the reader who is interested in *The Secret History* as literature will be disposed to look with some favor upon the fact that I have also given in the footnotes a number of cross-references so that formulae which occur more than once, whether in prose or in verse, may be located more easily. The specialist, therefore, must await the appearance of the second volume for the detailed commentary on the translation. Irrespective of these circumstances, however, the translation which I have given must stand or fall on its own merits. No judgment need be spared while the appearance of the commentary is being awaited. While it is true that the explanation of many puzzling points both in the original and in my manner of translation will be clarified in the commentary, it is also true that no amount of commentary will justify or substantiate a misleading or inaccurate translation.

The translation has been provided with an "Introduction" and two indices, an "Index Nominum" and an "Index Verborum," as well as a "Table of Sounds" for the guidance of the reader who is not acquainted with the values of the letters which I have used to transcribe the Mongolian sounds. A subsequent volume will include a "Bibliography" of the works cited both in the "Introduction" and in the footnotes to the translation itself. It will also provide a simple outline map showing the principal geographical features—rivers, lakes, and mountains—of the ancient Mongolian homeland.

Were I to mention the names of all those who, in one way or another, have contributed directly or indirectly to this volume, they would constitute a catalogue as long, perhaps, as that of "the captains of thousands" in §202 of the text itself. I shall,

therefore, only mention the names of those to whom I am chiefly indebted, letting them be representative of the names of all other colleagues and friends who have rendered me service in the course of the preparation of this volume.

To the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, C. I. C. M., I owe a debt of gratitude which cannot be discharged by the mere acknowledgment of the exceptionally gracious and devoted assistance which he has rendered me. On several occasions during the years 1952-1954 the eminent Belgian scholar received me at Missionhurst in Arlington, Virginia, and discussed with me for whole days at a time many of the extremely difficult problems with which the text is beset. In addition, he read the entire typescript of the draft translation and formulated in letter after letter remarks consisting of corrections, explanations, suggestions, and recommendations which, almost without exception, have been incorporated into the translation or the accompanying footnotes. As some of his remarks provide the solutions of hitherto unsolved problems, they have been translated and quoted in the footnotes. It is my intention, however, to present them, together with other remarks by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, in the second volume so that they will be accessible in the original French to specialists. When I ponder the goodness, the patience, and the understanding with which the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT has shared with me his time and knowledge, I know that to brotherly kindness he has, in truth, added charity. It is he who should have translated this text, not I. That I have succeeded in so doing, however, is owing to the help he has given me.

To Dr. William HUNG, I am indebted for substantive as well as moral encouragement. Always ready to examine with me problems in the interlinear or continuous Chinese translations, he has very materially contributed to my understanding of the Mongolian text itself. Some of his interpretations or explanations have been cited in the footnotes. Others will be cited in the second volume.

To Professor Serge ELISSÉEFF, too, I owe a debt of gratitude that is not easily discharged by its mere acknowledgment. In his capacity as Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute he has,

it is true, made possible the physical production of the volume by including it in his publications budget. In his capacity as teacher, colleague, and friend, however, he has, through the years, first by his counsel that I begin the study of Mongolian under the late great French master, Paul PELLIOT, next by his suggestion that I offer courses in the Mongolian language and literature at Harvard University, and finally by his sustained and unflagging interest in the role of Mongolian studies in the broader field of Far Eastern and Central Asiatic studies, given me the tangible and effective support that has made it possible for me to devote myself, if not exclusively, at least preponderantly, to the study of *The Secret History* and the period in which it was written.

To Dr. John L. BISHOP I am indebted for his great kindness in reading the translation both in typescript and page-proof form with an eye to diction and style. By virtue of his suggestions and recommendations the translation has been made more readable from beginning to end. If there are passages which are less readable—especially the long periods—this is not attributable to any oversight on Dr. BISHOP's part, for he was swift to tell me when he found a sentence difficult or its syntax puzzling and he often counseled me that the long periods be broken up into smaller units. My only justification for leaving some of the passages in their present form is that of faithfulness—perhaps, questionable—to the original.

To Mrs. Marion S. NASH of Milton, Massachusetts I am indebted for a first draft of the material which came to constitute the present "Index Nominum" and "Index Verborum." With the draft which she had prepared for my use, I was able, by collating the names and terms in the translation with her entries, to work the indices into their final form with greater ease than would otherwise have been possible.

To Mrs. Martha E. CHORLTON of Needham, Massachusetts, who typed the final draft of each of the several parts of the volume, I am deeply indebted for the truly magnificent work she did, for she spared no pains to comply with my manifold specifications and was always willing to interrupt her household duties to complete work urgently needed.

To my printer, Mr. Victor J. FURST, President, J. H. FURST Company, Baltimore, Maryland, and to all those of his house who participated in the printing of this volume I express my gratitude for the gracious and devoted cooperation which it has been my privilege to enjoy from the time when the first sections of the translation were set up in type for the purpose of presenting a set of specimen galley proofs to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. With infinite patience Mr. FURST and his associates have set and reset, keeping apace with my repeated changes and revisions and maintaining throughout the high quality of craftsmanship which has been the hallmark of the house for a half century.

Finally, I wish to thank Mr. F. C. WIEDER, Jr., Assistant Manager, N. V. Boekhandel en Drukkerij Voorheen E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland, for his gracious permission, granted in a letter dated 7 April 1956, to quote in my footnotes an occasional remark drawn from the *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, traduit et annoté par Paul PELLIOT et Louis HAMBIS, Tome I (Leiden, 1951).

In closing this Preface, I think it not improper to say with Sir George Thomas STAUNTON, the renowned translator of the *Ta-Ch'ing lü-li* 大清律例, that, in making this declaration, it is far from my wish to avail myself of these respectable sanctions for the protection from censure of a work for which I must of necessity be solely responsible.[11]

Francis W. CLEAVES

Needham, Massachusetts
19 April 1956

[11] *Ta Tsing Leu Lee; Being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes, of the Penal Code of China; Originally Printed and Published in Pekin, in Various Successive Editions, under the Sanction, and by the Authority, of the Several Emperors of the Ta Tsing, or Present Dynasty.* Translated from the Chinese; and Accompanied with an Appendix, Consisting of Authentic Documents, and a Few Occasional Notes, Illustrative of the Subject of the Work, London, 1810, p. xxxiv.

In 1866, when the Archimandrite Palladiĭ[1] published in the Труды членовъ Россійской духовной Миссіи въ Пекинѣ[2] [*Works of the Members of the Russian Religious Mission in Pekin*] a translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史[3] [*The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*], under the title of Старинное Монгольское сказаніе о Чингисханѣ[4] [*Old Mongolian Story about Čingis-khan*], he made accessible, in his native Russian language, the abridged Chinese translation of the great Mongolian work known as the *Mongγol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an*,[5] that is to say, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. In 1876 E. BRETSCHNEIDER,[6] M. D., Physician to the Russian Legation at Peking, included a brief "critical review" of the translation in his *Notices of the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia*,[7] wherein he stated: "In the introduction to his translation, Palladius gives a minutely detailed history of the work, ..."[8] In 1883, H. H. HOWORTH,[9] F. S. A., M. R. A. S., in an article entitled "Two Early Sources for Mongol History," which he published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,[10] undertook to bring before the Society the "admirable description"[11] of the *Yüan-*

[1] I. e., Petr Ivanovič KAFAROV, 17 September 1817—6 December 1878. Cf., e. g., John C. FERGUSON, "Palladius," *China Journal* 11 (1929).173-177.

[2] Томъ IV, С.-Петербургъ, 1866 [Tome IV, St.-Petersburg, 1866]. Pp. 1-258 + "Генеалогическая таблица къ Сказанію о Чингисханѣ" ["Genealogical Table to *The Story About Čingiskhan*"].

[3] This title may also be transcribed *Yüan-ch'ao mi-shih*, the character 秘 (~ 祕) ("secret") being read either *pi* or *mi* in Mandarin.

[4] This title, as we shall see, was devised by Palladiĭ.

[5] This title will be discussed in a subsequent volume.

[6] 22 June/4 July 1833—29 April 1901. Cf., e. g., Henri CORDIER, "Le Docteur Emile Vasilievitch Bretschneider," *T'oung pao* 2 (1901).[192]-197 (+ 1 plate).

[7] *Drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings, and Compared with the Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages*, Accompanied with two maps. London, 1876. Pp. iv + 1 of "Corrigenda" + "Map" + 233.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[9] 1 July 1842—15 July 1923. Cf., e. g., H. C., "Henry Howorth," *T'oung pao* 22 (1923).[330].

[10] I. e., *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, New Series, Vol. XV, Part III, July, 1883, pp. 346-356.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

ch'ao pi-shih, given by the Russian divine in the introduction to his translation. "Une excellente traduction, avec une introduction relative à l'histoire du texte et un copieux commentaire" is the inimitable manner in which the late Paul PELLIOT [12] characterized in 1913 in his article "Le titre mongol du *Yuan tch'ao pi che*" [13] the truly monumental work by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ.

While the translation by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ is a translation of the abridged, consecutive Chinese translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols*,[14] not of the Mongolian original as transcribed in Chinese characters,[15] and while the "explanatory details" [16] in his introduction, in some cases, are subject to modification in the light of data set forth by William HUNG [17] in his article "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*" in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* [18] and by Antoine MOSTAERT [19] in his book *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*,[20] to mention but two recent publications of singular importance,[21] it is, nevertheless, a fact that with the Старинное Монгольское сказаніе о Чингисханѣ [*Old Mongolian Story about Čingiskhan*] the Archimandrite Palladiĭ laid the foundation for subsequent study of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Before the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription became generally accessible, the translation by the

[12] 28 May 1878—26 October 1945. Cf., e.g., J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, "Paul Pelliot †," *T'oung pao* 38 (1947).1-15 + 1 plate.

[13] *T'oung pao* 14 (1913).131-132 (p. 130).

[14] For the abridged consecutive Chinese translation see pp. xxii-xliv below.

[15] For the Mongolian original as transcribed in Chinese characters see pp. xxiv, xliv, *et seq.* below.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

[17] 27 October 1893—

[18] 14 (1951).433-492.

[19] 10 August 1881— Cf., e.g., Serge ELISSÉEFF, "The Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M.," *HJAS* 19 (1956).vii-x.

[20] Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, Printed in the United States of America by J. H. Furst Company, Baltimore, Maryland. Pp. xx + [277]. [Reprinted from the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* with an "Introduction" (pp. vii-xx).]

[21] Another publication of importance is that by KOBAYASHI Takashirō 小林高四郎, entitled *Genchō hishi no kenkyū* 元朝秘史の研究 [*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih Studies*], Kyōto, 1954. Pp. 4 + [4] + [2] + 426 + 6 + 2 plates.

Archimandrite Palladiĭ was extensively utilized by such scholars as E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M. D., in his *Notices of the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia*[22] as well as *Mediaeval Researches*,[23] Henry H. HOWORTH, F. S. A., in his long article "Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors," published serially in *The Indian Antiquary*[24] from 1880 to 1888, and B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV[25] in his Чингис-хан [*Čingis-khan*].[26] In this manner, *The Secret History of the Mongols* was injected into the bloodstream of Western scholarship on early Mongolian history.

In 1903 Paul PELLIOT observed in "Notes bibliographiques" in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*,[27] relative to the text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* published in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* 連筠簃叢書,[28] that "c'est [518] vraisemblablement celle qu'a utilisée Palladius, qui a également connu, je crois, le texte

[22] See note 7 above.

[23] *From Eastern Asiatic Sources. Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th Century.* Vol. I. With a Map of Middle Asia. London, 1910. Pp. xii + 334; Vol. II. With a Reproduction of a Chinese Mediaeval Map of Central and Western Asia, London, 1910. Pp. x + 352.

[24] *A Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, History, Literature, Language, Philosophy, Religion, Folklore, &c., &c., &c.* Edited by Jas. Burgess, M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S., Vol. IX.—1880, pp. 89-95; 213-221; 240-247, 274-278; Vol. X.—1881, pp. 12-20; 111-117; 135-143; 171-180; 202-209; 234-242; 264-269; 233-339; 355-362; Vol. XI.—1882, pp. 76-81; 132-141; 189-196; 275-282; Vol. XII.—1883, 35-46; 75-86; 129-139; 165-175; 278-288; 297-303; Vol. XIII.—1884, pp. 108-115; 139-148; 196-208; 215-226; 291-304; Vol. XIV.—1885, pp. 81-92; 115-120; 142-152; 169-179; 267-274; Vol. XV.—1886, pp. 128-138; Vol. XVI.—1887, pp. 92-98; 122-131; and Vol. XVII.—1888. pp. 112-114; 132-134.

[25] I. e., Boris Yakovlevič VLADIMIRCOV, 1884—17 August 1931. Cf., e. g., N. POPPE. "B. J. Vladimirtsov," *Asia Major* 8 (1932) .565-570.

[26] Издательство З. И. Гржебина, Берлин * Петербург * Москва [Publishing House of Z. I. GRŽEBIN, Berlin * Petersburg * Moscow], 1922. Pp. 175 + 1 of Содержание [Contents]. Cf. also *The Life of Chingis-Khan* by Professor B. Ya. VLADIMIRTSOV, translated from the Russian by Prince D. S. MIRSKY, London, 1930. Pp. xx + 172. For a French translation cf. B. VLADIMIRTSOV, *Gengis-khan*. Introduction historique de René GROUSSET de l'Académie Française. Traduction par Michel CARSOW, Ancien Attaché au Ministère Impérial des Affaires Etrangères. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 11, Rue Saint-Sulpice, Paris. 6e. Pp. XXXIII + 158 + "Table des matières" + "Carte de l'Asie."

[27] 3 (1903) .517-518.

[28] Of YANG Shang-wen 楊尙文. Cf. [Paul PELLIOT,] *T'oung pao* 28 (1931-1932) .157. See also note 164 below.

mongol, pour sa traduction. . . ." That the Archimandrite Palladiĭ did not have access, however, to the Mongolian text for his translation is clear from an observation by BRETSCHNEIDER, relative to the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, in his *Notices of the Mediaeval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia:* [29]

. . . After Palladius had published his translation, made from the Chinese text in the afore-mentioned collection, he happened to obtain a MS. copy of the Ming edition of the work, accompanied by the Mongol text (in Chinese characters), for the use of which I have to thank the learned owner. It was found, that the text Palladius had translated, was only an extract of the original work, which comprises 15 chapters, but has no title. Although many archaisms and clerical errors occur in this text, the restoration of the Mongol original presents little difficulty for men acquainted with both Chinese and Mongol; the Mongol text (represented by Chinese characters) being accompanied by the Chinese translation. . . .

HOWORTH, who referred to BRETSCHNEIDER's observation, in his "Chinghiz khan and his Ancestors," remarked: [30]

. . . To this notice I may add that my friend Mr. Wylie met with a copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in China, written in the Mongol language in Chinese characters, as above mentioned. This was partially transcribed for him, but the original copy was lost during the rebellion, so that what he now has is only a fragment.

Later, BRETSCHNEIDER repeated his observation, albeit in a slightly altered form, in his *Mediaeval Researches*.[31]

That PELLIOT had come to modify his view of this matter is evident from the following observation in the introduction to his posthumously published *Histoire secrète des Mongols:* [32]

. . . Palladius signalait en outre qu'il y avait encore des manuscrits d'une transcription (et non plus d'une traduction) en caractères chinois du texte original mongol du *Yuan-tch'ao pi-che*. Postérieurement à sa traduction, Palladius put se procurer un de ces manuscrits qu'il donna à M. Pozdnéiev, lequel le remit à l'Université de Petrograd. A l'aide de ce manuscrit, M.

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[29] P. 15.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

[31] Vol. I, p. 193.

[32] *Restitution du texte mongol et traduction française des chapitres I à VI*, Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres et avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1949. Pp. II + [2] + 196 + 1 of "Table des matières." (P. 2).

Pozdnéiev remit en mongol, transcrit en caractères russes, le premier chapitre du *Yuan-tch'ao pi-che* et ce travail fut publié en 1880 à Petrograd; il est introuvable.[33]

In 1910 E. BLOCHET [34] published a French translation of the first chapter of the *Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih* under the title of "Histoire des origines de la dynastie des Mongols d'après le Yuan-shao-pi-sheu" in the "Appendice" to his *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din.*[35] As remarked by PELLIOT in his article "Le titre mongol du *Yuan tch'ao pi che*," [36] "il ne dit ni de quelle édition il se sert, ni à quels commentaires il a eu accès, et ne mentionne même pas le travail fondamental de Palladius." In the introduction to his posthumously published *Histoire secrète des Mongols* PELLIOT further remarked, relative to the translation of Palladiĭ: [37] "Mais Howorth ne l'a connue qu'après l'achèvement de son ouvrage, et M. Blochet l'a ignorée."

It should be observed, however, that BLOCHET did make the following remark: [38]

> . . . Le premier chapitre a été remis en mongol par M. Pozdnéief, de St. Pétersbourg, mais ce travail est devenu extrêmement rare et, dans l'attente d'une nouvelle édition, il est impossible de s'en procurer un exemplaire. M. Ivanof et M. Rosenberg ont bien voulu faire exécuter pour moi une copie, en caractères russes, de ce travail qu'il m'êut été impossible de connaître sans leur extrême obligeance. . . .

Neither PELLIOT nor BLOCHET, however, made reference to the article entitled "О древнемъ китайско-монгольскомъ историческомъ памятникѣ Юань-чао-ми-ши" ["On the Ancient Sino-

[33] S. A. KOZIN, Сокровенное сказание [*Secret Story*], Том I [Tome I], Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, p. 10, n. 1, referred to POZDNEEV's work as follows: "Транскрипция палеографического текста Юань чао би ши (Литогр. изд. отрывка. Дата не указана)." ["Transcription of the Paleographic Text of the *Yuan' čao bi ši* (Litogr. ed. of a fragment. Date not indicated)."]

[34] I. e., Edgar BLOCHET, 1870—

[35] "*E. J. Gibb Memorial*" *Series.* Vol. XII. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale. London: Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street. 1910. Pp. 398. (Pp. 272-298).

[36] P. 131, n. 1.

[37] P. 2.

[38] P. 272, n. 1.

Mongolian Historical Monument *Yuan'-čao-mi-ši* "] which A. M. POZDNEEV[39] published in 1884.[40] In this article POZDNEEV described the Mongolian text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* as transcribed in Chinese characters in a manuscript copy acquired by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ on 26 November 1872.[41] Thus, only six years after the publication in 1866 of his Russian translation of the abridged Chinese translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the Archimandrite Palladiĭ acquired the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription, which BRETSCHNEIDER and POZDNEEV almost immediately brought to the attention of Western scholarship in their respective publications.

While the classical remarks by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ on the transmission of the Chinese translation of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* have been supplemented and superseded in many significant respects by the findings of William HUNG in his article entitled "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*,"[42] it would be fallacious to conclude that they are completely obsolete, for they must still be consulted for data inaccessible elsewhere.[43] Insofar as the transmission of the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription is concerned, however, there is little to be gleaned from the remarks by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ.

In tracing the history of the transmission of *The Secret History*

[39] I. e., Alekseĭ Matveevič POZDNEEV, 1851—1920.

[40] I only have at my disposal a reprint of the article (pp. 1-22), given to the Harvard College Library by the bequest of Jeremiah CURTIN (Class of 1863), which contains (after p. 22) a folding table entitled "Таблица основныхъ іероглифовъ, составляющихъ алфавитъ древней китайско-монгольской лѣтописи-Юачь [*sic*]-чао-ми-ши" ["Table of the basic characters, composing the alphabet of the ancient Sino-Mongolian Chronicle—*Yuač*'[*sic*]-*čao-mi-ši*"] and a tailpiece which reads in part: Напечатано по распоряженію Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества ["Printed upon arrangement of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society"]. Henri CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Volume IV, Paris, 1907-1908, col. 2769, registered the article as follows: "Mémoire sur un ancien document historique sino-mongol, le *Yuen tchao mi chi*, par A. Pozdnieyev [en russe]. (*Mémoires de la Soc. archéologique de St. Pétersbourg*, 1884.)."

[41] P. 3.

[42] See note 18 above.

[43] Cf., e. g., Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant," *HJAS* 18 (1955) 357-421 (p. 360).

of the Mongols on Chinese soil—the text in Chinese transcription and that in Chinese translation—we must begin with references which, in the classical tradition of the West, might properly be called *de Historia Secreta Mongolorum veterum scriptorum testimonia.* Of these references, the first and indubitably the most important is a passage found in an entry relative to the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 [44] [*Sino-Barbarian* (= *Mongolian*) *Glossary*] in the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 [45] [*Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)*] 141 (*ts'e* 20) .3v6-4r1, under the date of 洪武十五年 . . . 春正月 . . . 丙戌 ["(The day) *ping-hsü* . . . of the 1st moon, in the spring, . . . of the 15th year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (20 January 1382) "],[46] already translated into Russian,[47] French,[48] and English,[49] which reads as follows (3v10):

. . . 復取元秘史參考紐切其字以諧其聲音.

. . . Moreover, taking the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference, they [50] joined or cut [51] its words [52] in order to approximate its sounds.[53]

Although the entry in which this reference is found was inserted retrospectively under the year 1382 by the compilers of the *Ming shih-lu* and although, for reasons to be given below,[54] it cannot be stated with absolute assurance that the date of 1382 is here as applicable to the *Yüan pi-shih* as it is to the *Hua-i i-yü*, it is,

[44] Cf., e.g., Marian Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du xiv^e siècle, Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, Wrocław, 1949. Pp. [288]; and Erich Haenisch, *Sino-Mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1952, Pp. 60 + XXVI plates.

[45] Cf. Hung, *op. cit.*, p. 452, n. 47. Cf. also A. C. Moule and Chung Kei-won, edited by J. J. L. D., "The Ta-Ming Shih-lu (Cambridge and Princeton)," *T'oung pao* 35 (1939-1940) .289-328 (+ 1 plate), and L. Carrington Goodrich, "A Note on the *Ta Ming Shih Lu*," *T'oung pao* 36 (1940-1942) .81-84.

[46] "1581" in Hung, *op. cit.*, p. 452, is an inadvertence.

[47] Cf. Palladiĭ, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

[48] Cf. Paul Pelliot, "Le Ḥōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *T'oung pao* 38 (1948) .81-292 (pp. 230-231).

[49] Cf. Hung, *op. cit.*, p. 452. Cf. also Howorth, "Two Early Sources . . . ," p. 347.

[50] I.e., Huo Yüan-chieh 火原潔, Ma Sha-i-hei 馬沙亦黑 (Ma Š(a)ix), and others.

[51] I.e., transcribed. For these words cf. Hung, *op. cit.*, p. 452, n. 47.

[52] I.e., the *Hua-i i-yü*'s Mongolian words.

[53] I.e., the *Hua-i i-yü*'s Mongolian sounds.

[54] See pages xliv-liv below.

nevertheless, evident that, if, only fourteen years after the Mongols were expelled from China, the Chinese were able to use *The Secret History of the Mongols* for the purpose in question, between the years 1368 and 1382, they had already transcribed and translated the Mongolian original. At the moment, it is not possible to state without qualification to which of the texts then possibly in existence the words *Yüan pi-shih* here refer.[55] It is known, however, that there were copied into the *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 [56] [*Encyclopaedia of (the) Yung-lo (Period)*], compiled in Nanking between the years 1403 and 1408, an integral Chinese transcription of the Mongolian text, with interlinear Chinese glosses, and an abridged Chinese translation—the whole, arbitrarily divided into 282 sections,[57] being entitled *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* [58] [*The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*]. Inserted under the rhyme 元 (*yüan*) in *chüan* 卷 5179-5193 of the enormous *Encyclopaedia*, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* consisted of 15 *chüan*. It was a copy of this text which eventually was acquired by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ.[59]

The second reference, if it may properly be termed such, is in the form of a notation found at the end of a manuscript copy of the abridged Chinese translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, presumably prepared for the editors of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, and of which a facsimile of the first leaf is reproduced in CH'EN Yüan 陳垣, *Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao* 元秘史譯音用字考 [60] [*Study of the Characters Used in the Transcription of the Sounds of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*]. As cited by CH'EN, the notation reads:[61]

一部二本. 永樂二年八月內抄到.

One set; two *pen*. Copied and received in the 8th moon of the 2nd year of [the] Yung-lo [period] [5 September—3 October 1404].

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[55] For conjectures cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

[56] For the compilation and subsequent history of the *Encyclopaedia*, cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-434.

[57] This matter will be discussed further in a subsequent volume.

[58] It is to "The text in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*" that Dr. HUNG devoted the first part (pp. 433-444) of his article "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*."

[59] See note 41 above. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

[60] Pei-p'ing 北平, 1934. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

[61] Cf. CH'EN, *op. cit.*, 28v1. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 456. See also page lviii below.

Aside from the fact that the date "5 September—3 October 1404" is in itself of the highest importance as a landmark in the history of the transmission of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the fact that such a manuscript copy was made suggests that the Chinese translation of the text had not previously appeared in printed form and serves to establish beyond all doubt that between 1368 and 1404—36 years in all—the text had been partially, if not integrally, translated into Chinese.

The next, albeit indirect, reference to *The Secret History of the Mongols* is found in the entry captioned "Ta-tan" 韃靼 ["Tatar"] in *chüan* 90 (*ts'e* 48).1r2-29r4 (25r7-28v2) of the *Ta-Ming i-t'ung-chih* 大明一統志,[62] where there is a passage in the note on the name *Pu-erh-han Shan* 不顏罕山 ("Mount Burqan") (27v1) of which the source could only be the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. It reads as follows:

昔有蒼白狼遇慘白鹿[于此]山. 生子名巴塔赤罕. 後爲蒙古部. 卽元氏之祖.

Formerly there was a blue-white wolf which met a dull-white doe [at this][63] mountain. He begot a son [whose] name [was] Pa-t'a-ch'ih-han (Batačiqan). [His] descendants became the Meng-ku (Mongγo[l]) tribe. They were the ancestors of the Yüan clan.

This passage was incorporated as such under the rubric "Ch'i shan ch'uan" 其山川 ("Their Mountains and Rivers") in the *I-yü* 譯語[64] [*Intelligence Report*] by Min-O-shan-jen 岷峨山人,[65]

[62] The first edition of this work in 90 *chüan* appeared in 1461. Cf., e.g., L. Carrington Goodrich, "Geographical Additions of the XIV and XV Centuries," *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies* 15 (1956).203-212 (p. 206). Having had no access to that edition, however, I have cited the reference in question from the edition of 1505 (cf. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p. 206).

[63] The obliterated words 于此 (*yü tz'u*) may be restored from the edition of 1535 (cf. Goodrich, *op. cit.*, p. 206), *chüan* 90 (*ts'e* 40).27v4, as well as the *I-yü* (see note 64 below).

[64] The meaning of this title, literally, *A Discourse on the Interpretation* [*of Words of the North*], is explained by the author at the beginning of the work (1r2-2r9). For the work itself cf. Wada Sei 和田清, "*Hokuryo kiryaku. Yakugo* oyobi *Sanchū bunken-roku* no chosha" 北虜紀略 譯語及び山中聞見錄の著者 ("Authors of the *Pei-lu Chi-liao* 北虜紀略, the *I yü* 譯語 and the *Shan-chung Wên-chien-lu* 山中聞見錄, three Books on the Northern Frontagers [*sic*] of the Later Ming Dynasty"), *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (*The Tôyô Gakuhô, Reports of the Oriental*

i. e., SU Chih-kao 蘇志皐,[66] in *chüan* 161 (*ts'e* 56). (4v3-6) of the *Chi-lu hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 [67] [*Collection of Historical Documents*] by SHEN Chieh-fu 沈節甫.[68]

It is obvious that the first two lines of the passage constitute nothing but a *résumé* of the opening paragraph of the Chinese translation of *The Secret History*.[69] The only variant of consequence is the adjective of color qualifying the wolf, that is *ts'ang-pai* 蒼白 ("blue-white") instead of *ts'ang-se-ti* 蒼色的 ("of bluish color") as in the Chinese translation.[70] The adjective of color qualifying the deer, however, is identical in both cases. The transcription of *Pa-t'a-ch'ih-han* (*Batačiqan*) is identical with that in the Chinese translation.[71]

The first substantial reference to *The Secret History of the Mongols* is found in an entry under the rubric 元 (*Yüan*) in *chüan* 5 (*ts'e* 1) .24r5-24v2 of the *Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi t'ung-p'u* 歷代帝王姓系統譜 [72] [*General Register of the Surnames and Lineages of the Emperors and Kings of Successive Dynasties*] in the *Wan-hsing t'ung-p'u* 萬姓統譜 [73] [*General Register of the Ten-Thousand Surnames*], where we read (24r6-8):

Society), Vol. XV, No. 2, September, 1921, pp. 250-257/106-113 (pp. 253-254/109-110), and Paul PELLIOT, "Le Ḥōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *T'oung pao* 38 (1948). 81-292 (pp. 289-290).

[66] For this *hao* 號 or *nom de plume* of the author, literally, "A Man of the Min and O Mountains [in Ssu-ch'uan]," cf. WADA, *op. cit.*, p. 254/110, and Paul PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[67] For this person cf. WADA, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254/109-110, and PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[67] The Commercial Press edition of 1938. This work in 216 *chüan* was first published in 1617. Cf. Wolfgang FRANKE, "Preliminary Notes on the Important Chinese Literary Sources for the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)," *Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu hui-k'an* 中國文化研究彙刊 (*Bulletin of Chinese Studies*) 7 (1947). 107-118 (p. 188, no. 279).

[68] A *chin-shih* 進士 of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty, specifically 1559.

[69] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, YEH Te-hui 葉德輝 edition of 1908 and The Commercial Press edition of 1936, 1 (*ts'e* 1). 1v2-3.

[70] *Op. cit.* 1 (*ts'e* 1). 1v2.

[71] *Op. cit.* 1 (*ts'e* 1). 1v3.

[72] For this work, one of three under the general title of *Wan-hsing t'ung-p'u* [*General Register of the Ten-Thousand Surnames*] see note 73 below.

[73] For this work of 1579 in 140 *chüan* cf. Ssŭ-yü TÊNG, Indiana University, and

按[元]朝秘史云[元]朝的人祖是天生蒼色人.與慘白女相配了.同渡過騰吉思水.到斡難[74]河源頭.不兒罕山前生一人名爲巴塔赤罕.巴塔赤罕生塔馬察.至十二世生孛端察兒.十三世生帖木眞.以孛兒只斤爲姓.是爲元朝太祖.

According to the [*Yüan-*][74] *ch'ao pi-shih* [*The Secret History of the (Yüan) Dynasty*] it is said: "The ancestor of the people of the [Yüan][75] dynasty was a man of bluish color begotten of Heaven, who coupled with a dull-white woman. Together they passed over the T'eng-chi-ssu (Tenggis) Water and reached the source of the Wo[-nan][76] (O[nan]) River. In front of Mount Pu-erh-han (Burqan) they engendered a person [whose] name was Pa-t'a-ch'ih-han (Batačiqan). Pa-t'a-ch'ih-han (Batačiqan) begot T'a-ma-ch'a (Tamača). Coming to the twelfth generation, Po-tuan-ch'a-erh (Bodončar) was born. In the thirteenth generation T'ieh-mu-chen (Temüjin) was born. He took Po-erh-chih-chin (Borjigin) as surname. He was the T'ai-tsu of the Yüan dynasty."

In 1824 J. KLAPROTH[77] published on pages (172) - (196) of his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*[78] a paper entitled "Examen des Extraits d'une Histoire des Khans mongols" in which, on page (191), he cited and translated this passage:

Le *Ouan sing thoung pou*, dictionnaire chinois de tous les noms célèbres, dit que *Bordjighin* était le nom de la famille de Tchinghiz khan, et son prénom *Temoudjin*. Ce même ouvrage donne l'extrait suivant de l'*histoire secrète* de la dynastie *Youan*: «Le premier ancêtre de cette famille était un homme d'une haute stature, et d'une couleur bleue, qui avait épousé une femme triste et délaissée. Il menait une vie nomade, traversa l'eau appelée *Tenghis*, et arriva devant la montagne *Bourkhan*, à la source de la rivière *Oua nan*, où sa femme accoucha d'un fils nommé *Batatchi khan*. De lui naquit *Tamatcha*, qui dans la douzième génération eut pour successeur *Bodouantchar*, duquel descendit, dans

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Knight BIGGERSTAFF, Cornell University, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Volume II, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, pp. 231-232.

[74] The character 元 (*Yüan*) is obliterated in the copy of the *Wan-hsing t'ung-p'u* which belongs to the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

[75] *Idem.*

[76] The character 難 (*nan*) is obliterated in the same copy.

[77] I.e., Heinrich Julius von KLAPROTH, 11 October 1783—27 August 1835. Cf., e.g., C. LANDRESSE, "Notice historique et littéraire sur M. Klaproth," *Nouveau Journal asiatique, ou Recueil de mémoires, d'extraits et de notices relatifs à l'histoire, à la philosophie, aux langues et à la littérature des peuples orientaux*, Tome XVI, Septembre 1835, pp. 243-273.

[78] I.e., *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie, contenant des recherches historiques, géographiques et philologiques sur les peuples de l'orient*; Ouvrage orné d'une carte de l'Archipel Potocki, et de trois autres planches, Paris, 1824. Pp. 478 + 1 of "Errata."

la treizième, *Temoudjin*, qui porta le nom de famille de *Bordjighin*, et qu'on regarde comme fondateur de la dynastie *Youan*.» [79]

KLAPROTH's translation of *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* as "l'*histoire secrète* de la dynastie *Youan*" constitutes, I believe, the first reference to this work in a western language. Although Isaac Jacob SCHMIDT [80] published his *Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren religiösen, politischen und literärischen Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter* [81] in the same year and presented on pages 38-39 of his work a German translation of KLAPROTH's French translation of the passage in question, for some reason, he did not specifically mention in this connection "l'*histoire secrète* de la dynastie *Youan*." [82]

That the compilers of the *Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi t'ung-p'u* had access directly or indirectly to the text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* is obvious, for the data they furnished was extracted from the abridged Chinese translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Since there exist translations of the pertinent sections of the abridged Chinese translation in Russian,[83] French,[84] and English,[85] I shall not include yet another herein. Of the modifications which the editors introduced into

[79] In rendering 天生蒼色人 as "un homme d'une haute stature, et d'une couleur bleue," KLAPROTH unquestionably was misled by the poorly printed 天 (*t'ien*) ("Heaven") which resembled 大 (*ta*) ("big") in his text. As to his translation of 慘白女 as "une femme triste et délaissée," it is attributable to the fact that he did not know that the character 慘 (*ts'an*), meaning, to be sure, "sad," also means "dark (of a color)" and is frequently written 黲 (*ts'an*). His inaccurate rendering of 慘 (*ts'an*) is responsible for the forced and completely inaccurate rendering of 白 (*pai*) "white" as "délaissée," a meaning which is out of the question in this context. See also note 96 below.

[80] 1779—1847.

[81] Mit zwei Tafeln in Steindruck, St. Petersburg, gedruckt bei Karl KRAY, 1824. Pp. *xiv* + 2 of "Verbesserungen und Zusätze" + 287.

[82] In translating KLAPROTH, SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, p. 38, perpetuated the mistranslations "un homme d'une haute stature, et d'une couleur bleue" and "une femme triste et délaissée" respectively as "ein Mann von hohem Köperwuchse und blau von Farbe" and "eine traurige und verlassene Frau."

[83] Palladiĭ, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

[84] BLOCHET, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-298.

[85] WEI Kwei-sun, M.A., Ph.D. (Alig.), "The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty," *Medieval India Quarterly* 2 (1957).1-134 (pp. 1-18).

their citation, the substitution of 人 (*jen*) ("man") for 狼[86] (*lang*) ("wolf") and 女 (*nü*) ("woman") for 鹿[87] (*lu*) ("doe")—the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription having respectively *činoa*[88] ("wolf") and *maral*[89] ("doe")—is especially noteworthy. One can only speculate as to the reason which prompted the Chinese compilers of the *Li-tai ti-wang hsing-hsi t'ung-p'u* to do, in effect, what the Mongols themselves did under the influence of lamaism,[90] but it can be assumed that they did not look with favor on the tradition of animal ancestors for the Yüan, one of the dynasties of their native land.

Another, albeit less substantial, reference to *The Secret History of the Mongols* is found in the entry on the Hsiung-nu 匈奴[91] in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* 三才圖會[92] [*Universal Illustrated Encyclopaedia*], "Jen-wu" 人物 ["People"], 12 (*ts'e* 冊 20) .6v1-8, where we read (6v4-6):

. . . 一種乃巴塔赤罕之祖.元朝秘史云蒼色狼與慘白鹿所生.二十五世生帖木眞.是稱大蒙古都長.僭號皇帝.世居沙漠東北六千里.後居山陰.號韃靼.

. . . One tribe [of the Hsiung-nu] was the ancestor of Pa-t'a-ch'ih-han[93] (Batačiqan). The *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* says: "[He was one] whom a wolf of bluish color and a dull-white doe begot." The twenty-fifth generation gave birth to T'ieh-mu-chen (Temüǰin). He was called the chief of the Great Mongols.[94] He usurped the title of Emperor. For generations [the Mongols] lived [at a distance of] 6,000 *li* north-east of the Sandy Desert. Later they lived on the north side of the mountains [between China and Mongolia]. They called themselves Ta-ta (Tatar).

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[86] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 1 (*ts'e* 1) .1v2.
[87] *Op. cit.* 1 (*ts'e* 1) .1v2.
[88] *Op. cit.* 1 (*ts'e* 1) .1r3.
[89] *Op. cit.*, 1 (*ts'e* 1) .1r4.
[90] Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, pp. xviii-xix. (See note 20 above.)
[91] For the Hsiung-nu cf., e.g., Jan Jakob Maria DE GROOT, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, Berlin und Leipzig, W. de Gruyter & Co., 1921.
[92] For this work in 106 *chüan*, with prefaces dated 1607 and 1609, cf. TÊNG, and BIGGERSTAFF, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[93] The text has *T'a-pa-ch'ih-han*.
[94] For the name "Great Mongols" cf. Antoine MOSTAERT et Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS* 15 (1952). 419-506 (+ Pl. I-VIII) (pp. 486-491).

In 1824 J. KLAPROTH published on pages (197)-(204) of his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie* an "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Schmidt, de Saint-Pétersbourg, adressée à M. Klaproth, en réponse à l'Examen des Extraits d'une Histoire des Khans mongols. Avec les Remarques de M. Klaproth"[95] in which he cited and translated this passage in a "*Remarque*" on pages (203)-(204):

Remarque.—Après la publication de mon *Examen de l'Histoire mongole*, j'ai trouvé un autre passage chinois sur l'origine des Mongols. Dans l'encyclopédie *San thsai thou hoey* (de l'Homme, sec. XII; fol. 6 *verso*), il est dit: «Une autre race tire son origine de *Batatchi khan* (*Tabatchi khan*, dans le texte, est une faute d'orthographe).» Dans l'histoire secrète de la dynastie des *Youan*, on lit: «Un loup couleur bleu de ciel, l'engendra avec une biche blanche et féroce. Son descendant, à la vingt-cinquième génération, était *Temoudjin*, qui fut le chef de la grande tribu des Mongols, et qui prit le titre d'empereur auguste. Pendant long-tems ce peuple habitait à 600 [*sic*] *ly*, au nord du désert de *Cha mo* (*ou Gobi*); après il vint s'établir sur le versant septentrional de la chaîne des montagnes qui borde la Chine au Nord, où il portait le titre honorifique de *Tha ta* (*Tatar*).» On voit [(204)] dans ce passage que le nom de *Burtè Tchino* est traduit par *loup couleur bleu de ciel*, et celui de sa femme *Goh maral* par une *biche blanche et féroce*. En effet *maral* signifie une *biche* en mongol, et le mot chinois *thsan*, que j'avais traduit par *délaissé*, peut aussi se rendre par *cruel et féroce*.[96]

Insofar as it is presently possible to determine, the first Chinese scholar to signalize the importance of *The Secret History of the Mongols* for the study of Yüan history was SUN Ch'eng-tse 孫承澤[97] whose *Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* 元朝典故編年考[98] [*A Chronological Study of Political Precedents of the Yüan Dynasty*],[99] though rare and practically inaccessible, happily is extant.[100] The ninth *chüan*[101] of SUN's work is entitled "Pi-shih"

[95] SCHMIDT's letter was dated "Saint-Pétersburg, le 22 mai 1823."

[96] It does not seem necessary to dwell on KLAPROTH's errors in his translation of this passage. As to the words 惨白鹿 (*ts'an pai lu*), however, which he rendered "*une biche blanche et féroce*" in this instance, he remarked, as we have seen (note 79 above), that the Chinese word *ts'an* which he translated "*délaissée*" in the previous citation, could also be rendered "*cruel et féroce*."

[97] 29 November 1593—1675. Cf. Arthur W. HUMMEL (Ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644-1912), Volume II, P-Z, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944, pp. 669b-670b.

[98] For this work cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 670a.

[99] I have used the translation given by William HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

[100] It is found in the *Lo-shu shan-fang ts'ung-shu* 螺樹山房叢書 (cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 437, n. 7) of which a copy is in the possession of the Tōhō Bunka Gakuin 東方

秘史 [" *The Secret History* "]. It consists of the abridged, consecutive Chinese translation of the last two chapters of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, preceded by a brief introductory statement which reads as follows (1r4-7):

元人有秘史十卷續秘史二卷. 前卷載沙漠始起之事. 續卷載下燕京滅金之事. 蓋其本國人所編紀者. 書藏禁中不傳. 偶從古家見之. 錄續卷以補正史之所不載.

The Yüan people had the *Pi-shih* [*The Secret History*] in 10 *chüan* and the *Hsü Pi-shih* [*The Continued Secret History*] in 2 *chüan*. The front *chüan* contain the events of [their] origin in the desert and the continued *chüan* contain the events of [their] bringing down Yen-ching and annihilating the Chin. It would seem that it was compiled by their own countrymen. The book is kept in the Imperial Palace and is not circulated. By chance I saw it in one of our old families. I have copied the continued *chüan* in order to supplement what is not contained in the *cheng-shih* [102] (" standard history ").[103]

The importance of this statement for the history of the transmission of *The Secret History of the Mongols* on Chinese soil cannot be overestimated, for it marks the beginning of critical, scientific appreciation of the text not only in China, but in the whole world.

文化學院. Cf. the *Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōtō kenkyūjo Kanseki mokuroku* 東方文化學院京都研究所漢籍目錄, p. 526, no. 389. The work was compiled by LUNG Yü-kuang 龍裕光 of Shun-te 順德 of the Ch'ing and published (刋本) by him during the Kuang-hsü 光緒 period (1875-1907).

[101] 9.1r1-15r1.

[102] I. e., the *Yüan shih* 元史.

[103] This statement was translated by William HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 436, from the text as quoted in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 (Shanghai, Ta-tung shu-chü 大東書局) 81.8r2-10. However, as he had no access to SUN's work, he was " unable to verify the accuracy of the text of SUN's remark " as quoted in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*. As a matter of fact, SUN's statement was not accurately cited by the editors who took the following liberties: (1) 元人有 (9r4) (" The Yüan people had ") was altered to 元有 (" From Yüan times have come down "); (2) 蓋其本國人所編紀者 (9r5) (" It would seem that it was compiled by their own countrymen "), to 蓋其國人所編記 (" apparently written by the Mongols themselves "); and (3) 錄續卷以補正史之所不載 (9r6-7) (" I have copied the continued *chüan* in order to supplement what is not contained in the *cheng-shih* [' standard history '] "), to 錄續卷未 [*sic*] 以補史所不載 (" so I copy it here, toward the close of my book, because it will make up for some of the omissions in the histories "). Of the three alterations in SUN's text, the last is extremely misleading, leaving the reader with the impression that SUN had copied the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* into his own work *in toto*.

SUN's work was copied into the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書[104] ["Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature"][105] and provided with a *t'i-yao* 提要[106] ["abstract"] in which it is said (1v3-6):

攷其所引並載永樂大典元字韻中. 互相檢勘——相同. 疑本元時秘册. 明初修書者或書錄副以出. 流傳在外. 故承澤得而見之耳.

When [we] examine what he has quoted, [we find that] it is all contained within the *yüan*-character rhyme in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*. When [we] compare the one with the other, [we find that] they are identical in every particular. [We] suspect that originally it was a secret work of Yüan times. One of those who, at the beginning of the Ming, compiled the book,[107] perhaps, copied a duplicate and came out[108] with [it]. [Thus] it came to circulate outside. Hence, [SUN] Ch'eng-tse was able to see it.

At this juncture, the author of the *t'i-yao* passes judgment on the nature and value of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (1v6-9):

所記大都瑣屑之事. 且間涉荒誕. 蓋亦傳聞之辭輾轉失實未足盡以爲據. 然究屬元代舊史. 世所罕覩. 自永樂大典以外惟見於此書. 與正史互有異同存之. 亦足以資參訂也.

What it records, on the whole, [has to do with] trivial matters. Moreover, occasionally, it concerns the unfounded. It would seem, too, that transmitted words gradually deviate from the truth and become unworthy of complete reliance. Yet, after all, it is an old history of the Yüan dynasty—rarely seen in the world. Apart from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, it only appears in this book. Since it contains variations [in comparison] with the *cheng-shih* ("standard history"), [we] may keep it, [for] it also is useful as a reference.[109]

After the time of SUN Ch'eng-tse, as its significance for the study of early Mongolian history came to be more fully appreciated, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* attracted the attention of an in-

[104] For the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* cf., e.g., William HUNG, "Preface to an Index to *Ssŭ-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* and *Wei-shou shu-mu*," *HJAS* 4 (1939).47-58. Cf. also Arthur W. HUMMEL (Ed.) *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, Volume I, A-O, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943, pp. 121a-123a.

[105] I have used the translation found in HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 121a.

[106] I translate from the text as published at the beginning of the *Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* in the *Lo-shu shan-fang ts'ung-shu* 9.1r3-1v9.

[107] I. e., the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.

[108] From the office where the *Yung-lo ta-tien* was being compiled.

[109] Lit., "also is enough to assist reference."

creasing number of scholars—among them some of the greatest of the Ch'ing 清 Dynasty (1644-1911)—whose role in the preservation and transmission of this monumental text is one of the great stories of literary history.

One of the first of these scholars to engage in a study of the text was WAN Kuang-t'ai 萬光泰,[110] the author of a curious little work entitled *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* 元秘史畧[111] [*Abridgment of the Yüan pi-shih*]. In the words of William HUNG, "To us, the book would appear to be of no value, for it consists only of casual selections—literarily polished and not chronologically arranged—from the sectional summaries of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*."[112] WAN's preface (1r3-1v8) dated 6 June 1748, however, is both interesting and instructive.[113] His evaluation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* as a source of Yüan history is evident from the following observation (1v5-6):

> . . . The text is not elegant and smooth and it tends to dwell on trivial matters. After deleting that which is unfounded, [I] compiled the *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* in 2 *chüan*.

Inasmuch as the copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* to which WAN Kuang-t'ai had access to compile his own work consisted of 10 *chüan* and 2 *chüan* of continuation,[114] it is tempting to speculate with William HUNG as to whether it was the one used by SUN Ch'eng-tse or not.[115]

For the preservation of WAN's little work we are indebted to YANG Fu-chi 楊復吉[116] in whose colophon entitled "Yüan pi-shih lüeh pa" 元秘史畧跋[117] ["Colophon to the *Yüan pi-shih lüeh*"] we read (47r5-6):

> In the late autumn of *ting-wei* 丁未 [1787] [I] borrowed a manuscript copy

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[110] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

[111] It is found in the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書 (1833-1834), 戊集, 續編 3 (*ts'e* 46).1r1-47r6. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 448, n. 36.

[112] *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

[113] Cf. HUNG, *ibid.*, for a translation of the major part of it.

[114] Cf. WAN's preface 1r3.

[115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 448-449.

[116] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

[117] It is found at the end of the *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* (47r1-6).

from the precious collection of the *Chih-pu-tsu chai* 知不足齋.[118] When [I] finished reading [it], [I] copied it in order to circulate [it].

The great scholar CH'IEN Ta-hsin 錢大昕[119] pursued the study of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* along the lines established by his predecessors. His colophon entitled "Pa Yüan pi-shih" 跋元祕史 ["Colophon to the *Yüan (-ch'ao) pi-shih*"] has become a classic. Found in his *Ch'ien-yen-t'ang wen-chi* 潛研堂文集[120] it opens as follows (20r10-20v2):

Yüan T'ai-tsu 大祖[121] was the creator of an empire,[122] yet the account of his deeds in the [*Yüan*] *shih* [元] 史 is very careless and contradictory. Only the narration in the *Pi-shih* [20v] seems to come closer to the truth, yet its language is vulgar and uncouth,[123] not having had the benefit of polishing by a literary person. Hence, those who know [of] it[s existence are] few.[124] It is very regrettable!

In the body of his colophon CH'IEN Ta-hsin instanced case after case in which the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is an indispensable adjunct to the *Yüan shih*. He concluded by saying (22r6-7):

Those who study the sequence of events[125] of both the T'ai-tsu and the T'ai-tsung 太宗[126] reigns must take this book as a *point d'appui*.[127]

As William HUNG has observed in his own remarks relative to CH'IEN's colophon,[128] "there is no mention of when and how he had come to have the book." It is his conclusion, however, that CH'IEN must have had it some time before 1781.[129]

[118] This was the name of the library of PAO T'ing-po. Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 612b.

[119] 16 February 1728—21 November 1804. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 152b-155a.

[120] *Chüan* 28 (*ts'e* 7) .20r9-22r7. (The Commercial Press, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* reproduction of the rare 1806 ed.)

[121] I. e., Činggis Qan.

[122] Lit., "the lord who created (抃=創) (20r10) an achievement."

[123] Here CH'IEN is referring to the language of the consecutive Chinese translation.

[124] 鮮 (20v1) = 尠.

[125] Lit., "discuss and order events."

[126] I. e., Ögedei (~Ögödei) Qa'an.

[127] Lit., "let them be obliged, in this book, to break their mean." For the expression 折其衷 (*che ch'i chung*) cf. the entry 折中 (*che chung*) ~ 折衷 (*che chung*) in the *Tz'u-hai* 辭海, 卯集, p. 95a-b.

[128] *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

[129] *Ibid.*

A contemporary of CH'IEN Ta-hsin, PAO T'ing-po 鮑廷博,[130] we learn from William HUNG,[131] completed in 1805 the collation of a copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* which was to come into the possession of HAN T'ai-hua 韓泰華[132] in 1847 and to be bought by Palladiĭ in 1872.[133] Regrettably, there appears to be no statement by PAO T'ing-po himself either as to how he acquired his own copy of the text or as to how he evaluated it as source material for Yüan history.

William HUNG has also drawn attention to an entry in the *Chu-ting hsien-sheng jih-chi ch'ao* 竹汀先生日記抄 [*Excerpts from the Diary of Master Chu-ting* (= *Ch'ien Ta-hsin*)][134] in which it is mentioned that WANG Hui-tsu 汪輝祖,[135] a contemporary of CH'IEN Ta-hsin, had once borrowed from the library of PAO T'ing-po a printed copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, mutilated at the beginning and the end, with a division into *chüan* different from that in the manuscript copy in the possession of CH'IEN.[136] It is the opinion of William HUNG that the correspondence between CH'IEN and WANG on the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, to which reference is made in the undated entry, "must have taken place in the closing years of the eighteenth century."[137] As in the case of PAO T'ing-po, there appears to be no statement by WANG Hui-tsu himself as to how he evaluated the text as source material for Yüan history.

When the great scholar JUAN Yüan 阮元[138] was governor of the Che-chiang 浙江 province, he acquired, among other works destined to be included in the Imperial Collection, a facsimile copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*.[139] In his *Yen-ching-shih wai-chi* 揅經室外集[140] there is a *t'i-yao* ["abstract"] entitled

[130] 1728—26 September 1814. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 612b-613b.
[131] *Op. cit.*, p. 438.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *Ibid.* See also note 41 above.
[134] *Op. cit.*, p. 441.
[135] 21 January 1731—1 May 1807. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 824b-826a.
[136] *Op. cit.*, p. 441.
[137] *Op. cit.*, p. 442.
[138] 21 February 1764—27 November 1849. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 399a-402b.
[139] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-438.
[140] In the *Wen-hsüan-lou ts'ung-shu* 文選樓叢書 (1842 ed.) (*ts'e* 13).

"Yüan pi-shih shih-wu chüan t'i-yao" 元祕史十五卷提要[141] ["Abstract of the *Yüan pi-shih* in 15 *Chüan*"]. It opens as follows (17r10-17v1):

The author's name is not given. That its chronology [is given] in terms of the rat, the hare, the sheep,[142] etc., and not in terms of the "branches [17v] and stems" (支干)[143] probably is [an indication] that it was written by the nationals (國人).[144]

It concludes with the following observation (17v8-9):

Although the language is vulgar and uncouth, not having had the benefit of [literary] polishing,[145] yet it is useful for research.[146] Still it is [a work] which those who study history will not discard.

Inasmuch as JUAN Yüan was a busy governor, it is possible, if not probable, that he did not write this "Abstract" himself. He may have had it written by PAO T'ing-po or another friend. However, as it is found in his *Yen-ching-shih wai-chi*, without proof to the contrary, we must attribute its authorship to JUAN himself.

The reason for which the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was not among the works which JUAN Yüan sent up for the Imperial Collection is clearly stated in a colophon by YEN Chieh 嚴杰,[147] appended to the *Yen-ching-shih wai-chi*,[148] wherein we read (15v4-5):

[In] the above[149] *t'i-yao* ("abstracts") in five *chüan* [there is] a total of 175 titles of books, among which [there is] the "*Yüan pi-shih* in 15 *Chüan*," [which,] because its language is vulgar and uncouth, has not been presented [to the Throne].[150]

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[141] 3.17r9-17v9.

[142] I. e., the twelve animals of the zodiac, the Mongolian *qulu'yan-a, taulai, qonin*, etc.

[143] I. e., the 地支 (*ti chih*) "the [twelve] branches of Earth" and the 天干 (*t'ien kan*) "the [ten] stems of Heaven." Cf. Herbert A. GILES, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, Second edition, Revised and enlarged, Shanghai, 1912, "(*D*)—The Twelve Branches, or Horary Characters" and "(*E*)—Names and Affinities of the Ten Celestial Stems" in "Tables" (pp. [28]-[29]).

[144] I. e., the Mongols.

[145] These words may be compared with those of CH'IEN Ta-hsin, *op. cit.* 28 (*ts'e* 7). 20v1: "yet its language is vulgar and uncouth, not having had the benefit of polishing by a literary person."

[146] Cf. the remark by SUN Ch'eng-tse: "it also is useful as a reference."

[147] 1763—1843. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 400a. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 437, n. 9, gives the dates as 1763—1845.

[148] 5.15v4-10.

[149] Lit., "on the right."

[150] There is mention in the colophon of four other books, in addition to the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, which were not presented.

In 1805 the eminent scholar KU Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻,[151] having discovered in 1804 that CHANG Hsiang-yün 張祥雲[152] possessed a facsimile copy of the original printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 *chüan* and the *Hsü* [*Continuation*] in 2 *chüan*, persuaded CHANG Tun-jen 張敦仁[153] to borrow it for the purpose of making a facsimile copy. CHANG commissioned KU to collate this copy with the original copy. For this reason, the recopied text came to be known as the "Ku chiao pen" 顧校本 ["KU collated copy"].[154] It was published by The Commercial Press in 1936.[155] The original of KU's colophon, in his own handwriting, was reproduced photographically at the beginning of The Commercial Press edition of the "Ku chiao pen." For the history of the transmission of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*—in particular, the text in 10 + 2 *chüan*—the colophon is extremely revealing—more so, in fact, than any other source. As William HUNG has translated all the colophon with the exception of the conclusion,[156] I shall confine myself to a translation of the latter which is interesting for its recognition of the work by CH'IEN Ta-hsin. It reads as follows ([1v]5-8):

Having finished the collation, [I have now] thus noted its history. As for how it may serve for the correction of the deficiencies in the *Yüan shih* [as] compiled by the Ming, in the colophon of the *Shao-chan* 少詹[157] as well as [his *Nien-erh-shih*] *k'ao-i* [廿二史]考異[158] [*Critical Notes* (*on the Twenty-*

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[151] 1776—17 March 1835. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 417b-419a.

[152] Prefect of Lu-chou 廬州 in An-hui from 1799 to 1806. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 417b.

[153] 1754—1834. Prefect of Yang-chou 揚州 in Chiang-su from 1804 to 1805. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 417b.

[154] As observed by William HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 444, this "may, perhaps, be rendered as the 'KU certified copy,' because KU performed no collation; and what he did was merely to check the recopied text against the original facsimile copy, which he had considered perfect."

[155] The Commercial Press photolithographic edition, Shanghai, 1936.

[156] *Op. cit.*, pp. 439-440.

[157] I. e., CH'IEN Ta-hsin. For *shao-chan*, an abbreviation of a longer title signifying "Supervisor of Instruction," a literary designation, cf. H. S. BRUNNERT and V. V. HAGELSTROM, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, Shanghai, 1912, p.[485] §929.

[158] For this work in 100 *chüan*, found in the *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu* 廣雅叢書, *ts'e* 313-330, cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 153a. KU Kuang-ch'i obviously had in mind that

Two Dynastic Histories)], [we] see the general outline. To carry the research farther [159] is [the task of] a good student.[160] Now it is unnecessary for me to go into details.[161]

It was the well-known author of the *Meng-ku yu-mu chi* 蒙古遊牧記 [162] [*Account of the Mongolian Nomads*], CHANG Mu 張穆,[163] who copied the Chinese translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and published it in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* [164] of which he was the editor.[165] In his colophon [166] dated 13 July 1848 CHANG remarked (3r4-5):

In the 27th year [of Tao-kuang 道光 (1847)] [I] borrowed an original facsimile copy from the HAN family 韓氏 [167] of Jen-ho 仁和 [168] and, upon collating [my copy with the latter, found that] there were no errors [in mine].

In his "Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih i-wen ch'ao-pen t'i-tz'u" 元朝秘史譯文鈔本題詞 ["Superscription on the Manuscript Copy of the Translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*"] in the *Yin-chai shih-wen chi* 人齋詩文集 [169] 3 (*ts'e* 1) .32v10-33r9 CHANG further remarked (33r2-5):

[As to] the order of its *chüan*, [the compilers of] the *Ta-tien* also roughly made divisions [to conform to those of the latter]. The original book, it would seem, constituted in all one volume. Before each section there is arranged the Mongolian text to which the translation is appended. As to what has been copied here, it is the translation. Outside [the *Han-lin-yüan* 翰林院] [170] there is no other copy circulating. The Mongolian surnames which CH'IEN Chu-ting 錢竹汀,[171] *chan-shih* 詹事,[172] arranged at the beginning of his

part of the *Nien-erh shih k'ao-i* devoted to the *Yüan-shih*, specifically *chüan* 86-100 (*Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu, ts'e* 328-330).

[159] Lit., "To pull and stretch it."

[160] Lit., "a gentleman who is adept at study."

[161] Lit., "Now [I] shall not reach detailed discussion."

[162] Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 47a.

[163] 1805—1849. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 47a-48a.

[164] See note 28 above. Cf. further HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 47b.

[165] Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 47b.

[166] 15 (*ts'e* 3) .3r3-6.

[167] I. e., the family of HAN T'ai-hua. See note 132 above.

[168] In Che-chiang.

[169] Published in 1858, this work consists of 8 *chüan* of prose and 4 *chüan* of verse. Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 47b.

[170] I. e., "The National Academy." Cf. BRUNNERT and HAGELSTROM, *op. cit.*, p.[72] §191.

[171] I. e., CH'IEN Ta-hsin, *Chu-ting* being a *hao*. Cf., e. g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 152b.

[172] For *chan-shih*, an abbreviation of a longer title signifying "Chief Supervisor of

Yüan-shih shih-tsu-piao 元史氏族表 [178] [*A Tabulation of the Clans in the Yüan shih*] are all based on this book, yet he did not write the title of the book.

It was in the autumn of the year 1841, as CHANG informs us,[174] that he was able to see the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and copy from it several works, including the translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*.

The "Ku chiao pen" of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, although it belonged to CHANG Tun-jen in his lifetime, in due course passed into other hands [175] and was eventually acquired by the scholar Sheng-yü 盛昱,[176] a member of the Manchu imperial clan.

From the Japanese scholar NAITŌ Torajirō 內藤虎次郎,[177] we learn that the text was recopied, while in the possession of Sheng-yü, by both LI Wen-t'ien 李文田 [178] and WEN T'ing-shih 文廷式.[179] As observed by William HUNG, however, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* 元朝祕史注 [180] [*Commentary on the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*] by LI Wen-t'ien was on the text in 15 *chüan* collated and edited by CHANG Mu.[181] Inasmuch as the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* was published posthumously in 1896—a year after the author's death—it has neither a *hsü* 序 ("preface") nor a *pa* 跋 ("colophon") by LI himself. There is, however, a colophon [182] by his student SHEN Wei-hsien 沈惟賢. Entitled "Yüan pi-shih chu pa" 元祕史注跋 ["Colophon to the *Commentary on the Yüan pi-shih*"], it constitutes a critical survey of Chinese scholarship on the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. The following observation (1v2-4) will suffice to demonstrate the great value which SHEN attached to the work:

Instruction," a literary designation, cf. BRUNNERT and HAGELSTROM, *op. cit.*, p.[485] §929.

[173] For this work cf., e.g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 154a.

[174] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 443, where, I was informed by the author on 1 February 1960, "1821" is an error for "1841."

[175] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[176] 11 April 1850—20 January 1900. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 648b-650a.

[177] 1866—1934. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445, n. 28, and HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 40b.

[178] 1834—6 December 1895. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 494a-495b.

[179] 1856—1904. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 855a-865b.

[180] For this work in 15 *chüan*, published in 1896, cf., e.g., HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 495a.

[181] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[182] At the end of the 4th *ts'e* (1r1-2v5).

If we now look for the traces of the founding of the Yüan which was, [we shall find that] from beginning to end[183] there is no other which can excel this compilation in completeness. Yet few scholars have availed themselves of its contents.[184] Why? On the barren deserts and in the primitive times,[185] not only [are] the events extraordinary, [but] the language [of the narrative also is] somewhat uncouth and vulgar. . . .

As for LI's own evaluation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, it must be gleaned from remarks in his *Commentary*. From these it is obvious that he recognized the great importance of the historical and geographical content of the work.

The marginal notes in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* are by WEN T'ing-shih, who, it will be recalled, possessed a copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 + 2 *chüan*. These notes reflect the use he made of his copy.[186] In 1902 he presented a recopy of his copy to NAITŌ Torajirō in Ōsaka, Japan, who, in turn, had a copy made for NAKA Michiyo 那珂通世[187] in Tōkyō.[188] In 1907 NAKA Michiyo published his monumental *Chingisu kan jitsuroku* 成吉思汗實錄 [*The Veritable Records of Činggis Qan*].[189]

In 1902 KAO Pao-ch'üan 高寶銓[190] published a supplement to the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chu* under the title of *Yüan pi-shih Li chu pu-cheng* 元祕史李注補正[191] [*Addenda et Corrigenda to Li's Commentary on the Yüan pi-shih*]. That KAO, too, valued the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* highly for historical and geographical researches is clear from the following passage in his "Tzu-hsü" 自敍[192] ["Author's Preface"] (1r8-11):

. . . The danger and the ease of mountains and rivers (= geography),[193] the dissimilarity and the similarity of wind and soil (= customs),[194] together with

[183] Lit., "[from] head [to] tail."

[184] Lit., "the scholars who receive learning in some cases also rarely scoop the heart in it."

[185] Lit., "the first opening of the dawn of time."

[186] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[187] 1851—1908. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 433, and HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 649b.

[188] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[189] Tōkyō, 1907.

[190] Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 495a.

[191] In 15 *chüan*. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 434, and HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 459a.

[192] 1r2-11.

[193] I. e., the relative conditions of travel.

[194] I. e., the relative similarity of customs.

the strategy of marching troops (= war)[195] and the method of restraining the enemy (= diplomacy),[196] are furnished and made clear in the *Pi-shih*. Right now the ten thousand *li* (= vast areas) of [our] northwest are adjacent to a strong Russia. Recently, moreover, [with] railway and trains,[197] it has been making of the Desert an easy thoroughfare; [with] migration and colonization,[198] they have snatched the host (= China), the noisy guests.[199] If forethought and preparedness[200] are now in order,[201] then, as for this compilation, is it that it merely constitutes a help for the study of history?[202]

It was in 1908—in the closing days of the Ch'ing Dynasty which had witnessed the gradual growth and development of *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* scholarship—that the well-known scholar YEH Te-hui 葉德輝,[203] who had come into possession of the copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 + 2 *chüan*, which had belonged to WEN T'ing-shih[204]—a copy, it will be recalled, of a copy of the "KU collated copy"[205]—capped the endeavors of generations of predecessors by making the complete work—the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian text, the interlinear Chinese glosses, and the abridged Chinese translation—for the first time accessible to scholarship at large in an excellent block-printed edition. YEH's accomplishment is the more remarkable, when we consider that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was not his specialty.

In his *Hsi-yüan tu-shu chih* 郋園讀書志[206] [*Annotated Catalogue of the Library of Hsi-yüan*] there is an account of the work,[207] dated "the 4th day of *chia-p'ing* 嘉平[208] of *ping-wu* 丙午

[195] I. e., military campaigns.

[196] I. e., in preparation for war, to mislead the enemy by doing the opposite of what he anticipates and to alienate him from his allies.

[197] I. e., the trans-Siberian line.

[198] I. e., in Chinese Turkestan.

[199] I. e., intruding guests bring about the embarrassment of the host. The inversion 奪主喧賓 (*to chu hsüan pin*) for 喧賓奪主 (*hsüan pin to chu*) is for the purpose of tonal balance.

[200] For these words cf., e. g., *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, Revised American edition, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, no. 2240 (p. 334). By "preparedness" is meant "military preparedness."

[201] Lit., "at this constitute urgency."

[202] I. e., Is this compilation merely to serve the purpose of historical study?

[203] 1864—1927. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 184b.

[204] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

[205] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[206] For this work in 16 *chüan*, published in 1928, cf., e. g., HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 446, n. 32.

[207] 3 (*ts'e* 3) .29r7-30r3.

[208] I. e., the *cheng-yüeh* 正月 or "first moon."

(17 January 1907)." As remarked by William HUNG, "It is full of erroneous statements."[209] YEH's concluding remarks, nevertheless, are not without interest (29v11-30r3):

As for this book, Mr. K'o [Feng-sun] 柯[鳳孫],[210] too, [30r] has seen it, but has cited it very little, because the text with LI's commentary[211] is already published and may serve as reference.[212] I, however, regard this original text as not the same as the YANG[213] text and the LI commentary. I hope that some day there may be connoisseurs who will transmit it to a cutter. Were it combined[214] with the *Meng-ku yüan-liu* 蒙古源流[215] [*History of the Mongols*], they would make an excellent pair.[216]

Later, in his "Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih hsü" 元朝秘史序[217] ["Preface to the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*"], dated "the 1st day of the 9th moon of the 33rd year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 [7 October 1907]," in which he also labored under several misconceptions, YEH had occasion to signalize, albeit in a rather quaint manner, the singular value of the Mongolian text in Chinese transcription (1r7-1v3):

Moreover, as to this text [under consideration], in each section [first] there is a transcription into words from the original language and secondly there is a translation into sentences from the words [of the transcription]. If we take the entire book and examine it, [we find that,] although there is no abridgment or alteration in [respect of] the translated text in the YANG block-print, yet there is no originally transcribed language. [Thus] it does not escape the condensation and abridgment of omission. Perhaps, the text in the [*Yung-lo*] *ta-tien* was [already] thus and the blame assuredly does not lie with YANG. In

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[209] *Op. cit.*, p. 446, n. 32.

[210] I.e., K'o Shao-min 柯劭忞 (1850—1933), author of the *Hsin Yüan-shih* 新元史. Cf. HUMMEL, *op. cit.*, p. 469b.

[211] See note 180 above.

[212] Lit., "and may thereby be taken as witness."

[213] See notes 28 and 164 above.

[214] I.e., published.

[215] I.e., the Chinese translation of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* [*The Precious Button*] of Saγang Sečen. Cf., e.g., *Erdeni-yin Tobči, Mongolian Chronicle by Saγang Sečen* with a Critical Introduction by The Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Arlington, Virginia, and an Editor's Foreword by Francis Woodman CLEAVES, Associate Professor of Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University, Harvard-Yenching Institute, *Scripta Mongolica II*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, Part I, p. 36.

[216] Lit., "the pair would be excellent." For 兩美 (*liang mei*), an allusion to the "Wen-fu" 文賦 ["Rhymeprose on Literature"] by LU CHI 陸機, cf. Achilles FANG, "Rhymeprose on Literature: The *Wên-fu* of LU CHI," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951) 527-566 (p. 537, §59: 離之則雙美 合之則兩傷. "Such collisions avoided, neither suffers; forced together, both suffer.")

[217] 1r2-2r1.

reality language and letters attain success by helping each other.[218] The first efforts and the later polishings each have their own emphasis.[219] From the standpoint of historiographical requirements, so long as the meaning [1v] of the text is made evident by translation, it may furnish material for compilation. In judging it as a translated book, unless one have access to the original language which is translated, how is one to know whether the translated text might not have omissions or insertions, additions or subtractions?[220] Hence, that this text is valuable lies not alone in the fact that the division into *chüan* is different [from that in the YANG text] and the fact that it has the name of the author.[221]

As to the material disposition of the text as he published it, including such modifications and alterations as he deemed advisable, YEH has this to say (1v3-7):

[As for] the original text, each line varies in length between [from] 7 *ts'un* 寸, 6 or 7 *fen* 分[222] to a little less than 8 *ts'un* of the present-day architectural foot-rule of the *kung-pu* 工部[223] and it is 5 *ts'un*, 8 *fen*[224] in width. Now we cut [the blocks] on a reduced scale, [but] in [respect of the arrangement of] the lines[225] [on the leaf] there is nothing which we have changed. In the book originally there were black lines and[226] horizontal marks. We have completely followed the prototype [here].[227] Since in the original [copy] there [also] are red lines, then we have cut [them] into double lines [with] a white line[228] to indicate the differentiation. As for the red lines, they were

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[218] YEH seems to mean that the spoken language grows only as the written language develops and that the written language would not be possible without the spoken language. In other words, the spoken language needs literature and literature needs the spoken language.

[219] Lit., "the meanings, in each case, have what they should." YEH seems to mean that the text then before him represented, as he visualized it, the first efforts in which the emphasis was on the language, whereas the text in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (which he had not seen, but assumed from YANG's edition) represented later polishings in which the emphasis was on the requirements of letters.

[220] In other words, "alterations."

[221] YEH was in error in thinking that the text "has the name of the author." See pp. 00-00 below.

[222] I.e., 0.760 or 0.770 of a *ch'ih* 尺 which consisted of 10 *ts'un*.

[223] I.e., "Ministry (Board) of Works." Cf. BRUNNERT and HAGELSTROM, p.[152] §460.

[224] I.e., 0.580 of a *ch'ih*.

[225] Lit., "line-items."

[226] I.e., "with."

[227] I.e., "These are completely reproduced here.

[228] In the words of Dr. William HUNG (3 November 1954), "This is very awkward Chinese!" However, YEH means that he changed the red lines of the original into double black lines with a white space between them.

[used to denote] personal names. As for the black lines and [229] the horizontal marks, [they were used to denote] the length and the division of words. They all are more detailed than [those in] the YANG block-print.

In conclusion YEH expresses the following opinion as to the value of the text for the control of the *Yüan shih* (1v7-9):

The world does not lack men who [can] understand the translation.[230] If they utilize the original transcription to reach [231] the original sounds (= language), the errors of the *Yüan shih* which they should [be able to] correct ought to be not only the [few] items which are recorded in the *K'ao-i* [232] [*Critical Notes*] of CH'IEN Ta-hsin.

If the role of Chinese scholars in the preservation and transmission of *The Secret History of the Mongols* is, as above suggested, one of the great stories of literary history, it is the more remarkable, when we reflect that the original text in Chinese transcription was in a language which, presumably, none of them comprehended and that the translation of the original was in an exotic, colloquial style of Chinese which, to their sophisticated tastes, was intolerably uncouth. Nonetheless, so keen was their sense of history and so profound, their understanding of the research value of primary source material that, despite any misgivings as to those features of the work which to them appeared to be shortcomings, they preserved and transmitted it so faithfully from generation to generation that the text as published by YEH Te-hui, differing in no significant particular from the "KU collated copy," is essentially the same as the Ming printed prototype [233] and, presumably, the manuscript text which was copied into the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.[234]

Of the transmission of *The Secret History of the Mongols* between the years 1368 and 1382 [235] we know nothing that can be specifically documented textually. However, as the sources for

[229] I.e., "with."

[230] Lit., "double translation." YEH means that in his time there probably were men who could understand the translation.

[231] Lit., "push and get."

[232] See note 158 above.

[233] From "an old facsimile copy" of which, in the possession of CHANG Hsiang-yün of Lu-chou, KU Kuang-ch'i made his "collated copy." Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

[234] Between the years 1403-1408. See p. xxiv above. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

[235] See page xxiv above.

the story of the compilation of the *Yüan shih* suggest the circumstances under which the Mongolian text came to be transcribed, glossed, and translated during these years, they must be taken into consideration for whatever light they may shed on one of the darkest periods of the text's own history on Chinese soil.

In the *Ming shih* 2 (*ts'e* 2) .2v10-3r1 we read:

On [the day] *keng-wu* 庚午 [. . . of the 8th moon . . . of the 1st year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (14 September 1368)] Hsü Ta 徐達 [236] entered the Yüan capital [237] and sealed up the libraries and the treasuries, the maps and the books, and guarded the palace gates, forbidding [his] soldiers [3r] to loot. . . .

In the *Ming shih-lu* [*Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynsty)*] 30 (*ts'e* 6) .1v3-2r3 there is a fuller account of the entry of Hsü Ta into the Yüan capital. It begins as follows (1v3-5):

On [the day] *keng-wu* [. . . of the 8th moon . . . of the 1st year of (the) Hung-wu (period) (14 September 1368)] the *ta-chiang-chün* 大將軍,[238] Hsü Ta, ordering the *chih-hui* 指揮,[239] Ma 馬,[240] to guard T'ung-chou 通州,[241] advanced [his] army to take the Yüan capital. When the army reached the Ch'i-hua-men 齊化門,[242] he ordered the officers and men to fill in the moat and, scaling the wall, to enter [the capital]. . . .

It continues (1v8-10):

. . . He sealed up their libraries and treasuries as well as the maps and books, the precious things, etc. He also sealed up the gates to the halls of the former palace and had the *chih-hui*, Chang Huan 張煥,[243] guard them with 1,000 soldiers. [As for] the "palace persons," [244] concubines, and prin-

[236] 1332—1385. For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 125 (*ts'e* 35).1r5-11r6. For a translation cf. W. Othmer, "Die Lebensgeschichte des Feldherrn Sü Da (1332-1385) aus der Geschichte der Ming-Dynastie, Kap. 125," *Jubiläumsband herausgegeben von der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens anläßlich ihres 60 jährigen Bestehens 1873-1933*, Teil II, Tôkyô, 1933, pp. 305-327.

[237] I. e., Ta-tu 大都 (in Chinese) or Daidu (in Mongolian).

[238] Lit., "Grand General."

[239] I. e., "Commandant."

[240] The *ming* (名) of this person is not given in the text.

[241] Cf. Albert Herrmann, Ph. D., *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, Volume I, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1935: 70-71 E 2 ("T'ung").

[242] Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*: 57 II (21) ("Ch'i-hua mên"). Cf. also Othmer, *op. cit.*, p. 315, n. 144.

[243] In the biography of Hsü Ta this same person is called Chang Sheng. See note 246 below.

[244] I. e., palace ladies.

cesses,[245] he had their own eunuchs watch over them and ordered [his] soldiers not to loot. . . .

In the biography of Hsü Ta in the *Ming shih* 125 (*ts'e* 35). 1r5-11r6 we read (5v3-4):

He sealed up the libraries and treasuries, listed the maps and books, and precious things, and had the *chih-hui*, CHANG Sheng 張勝,[246] guard the Palace gates with 1,000 soldiers.[147]

One of the sources of the above accounts is the "P'ing Yüan-tu k'ai-piao" 平元都捷表 ["Victory Memorial on (the Occasion of) the Pacification of the Yüan Capital"] of Hsü Ta in the *Ming shih-lu* [*Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)*] 30 (*ts'e* 6). 11v8-13r4, wherein the victorious general remarked (12v8-10):

. . . [Your Majesty's] Servant, together with [CH'ANG] Yü-ch'un [常]遇春,[248] and others, already on the 2nd day of the 1st decade of the 8th moon [14 September 1368] had brought the soldiers into their capital city. [The populace] put *chiang* 漿 in pots [249] to welcome [us], for, ridding themselves of the basins which they wore upon their heads, they looked up at the white sun.[250] One family congratulated another, because, with the clearing of the unhealthy atmosphere,[251] they gazed upon the blue skies. [We] humbly pro-

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[245] The word 主 (*chu*) is an abbreviation of 公主 (*kung-chu*).

[246] In the *Ming shih-lu* this same person is called CHANG Huan. See note 243 above. Cf. also OTHMER, *op. cit.*, p. 315, n. 150.

[247] Cf. also OTHMER, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[248] For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 125 (*ts'e* 35).11r8-17r10.

[249] I. e., "brought food and drink."

[250] In other words, "emerging from the darkness of the Yüan, they looked up at the brightness of the Ming." In the words 戴盆而仰白日 we have an allusion to a passage in the famous letter of SSU-MA Ch'ien 司馬遷 to his friend JEN An 任安 in the former's biography in the *Han shu* 漢書 62 (*ts'e* 19).1r3-23r9, wherein we read (16v5): 僕以爲戴盆何以望天. "I have pondered how one, wearing a basin upon his head, could behold the skies." By "the skies" SSU-MA Ch'ien meant Wu-ti 武帝 of the Han. Cf. also Edouard CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Tome premier, Paris, 1895, p. CCXXIX: "De même qu'un homme qui porte une cuvette sur la tête ne peut pas lever les yeux vers le ciel[3], ..." In note 3 on pages CCXXIV-CCXXV, CHAVANNES observed (with the Chinese commentator): "Lever les yeux au ciel et avoir une cuvette sur la tête sont choses incompatibles. De même servir le souverain et s'occuper de sa famille." While the metaphor was used by Hsü Ta to convey the sense of "liberation," it was used by SSU-MA Ch'ien to convey that of "humility."

[251] Lit., "pushing away the demoniac atmosphere." For the allusion in these words cf. the *Fen-lei pu-chu Li T'ai-po shih* 分類補註李太白詩 5 (*ts'e* 3).11v7.

claimed [Your Majesty's] Grace and Might in order to put the people at ease. [We] brought together all the maps and books and sealed up the libraries and treasuries. . . .

Having taken such preliminary measures to safeguard the archives of the fallen Yüan, in due course, Hsü Ta sent them to the south. The treatise in the *Ming shih*, entitled "I-wen" 藝文 ["Bibliography"], opens as follows:[252]

After T'ai-tsu 太祖[253] of the Ming had conquered the Yüan Capital, the general[254] collected the records and sent them to Nan-ching 南京.[255]

With the records in hand, the new dynasty was in a position to begin the compilation of the history of its predecessor. According to the *Ming shih-lu* [*Veritable Records of (the) Ming (Dynasty)*] 37 (*ts'e* 7).1r3-5:

On the 1st day, *ping-yin* 丙寅, of the 2nd moon of the 2nd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [9 March 1369] it was decreed that the *Yüan shih* be compiled. His Majesty addressed the courtiers, saying, "Recently, when we took the Yüan Capital, we got the Yüan *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu* 十三朝實錄[256] [*Veritable Records of the Thirteen Reigns*]. Although the Yüan is a perished state, its [historical] events ought to be recorded. Moreover, as historiography (史) records successes and failures, shows encouragement and admonition, it should not be abandoned."

The compiler of this entry in the *Shih-lu* further remarked (1r8-9):

The Bureau (官) was opened in the T'ien-chieh-ssu 天界寺[257] and books such as the Yüan *Ching-shih ta-tien* 經世大典[258] [*Compendium of Govern-*

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[252] 96 (*ts'e* 25).1r5.

[253] I.e., Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋.

[254] I.e., Hsü Ta.

[255] I.e., the Ming capital.

[256] I.e., those from Činggis Qan to Irinǰibal Qaγan.

[257] For another reference to this temple cf. the *Ming shih-lu* 45 (*ts'e* 8).6v7.

[258] Cf., e.g., Herbert Franke, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft, Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit*, Leipzig, 1949, pp. 25-26; Hung, *op. cit.*, p. 472, n. 88; Herbert Franz Schurmann, *The Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty, Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan shih* 元史, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XVI, Cambridge, Massachustets, 1956, p. xiii; and Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The 'Fifteen "Palace Poems"' by K'o Chiu-ssu," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957).391-479 (p. 399, n. 41).

ment] were used for reference.

The same event is tersely chronicled in the *Ming shih* 2 (*ts'e* 2). 4v3 in one sentence:

On the 1st day, *ping-yin*, of the 2nd moon [. . . in the spring, of the 2nd year (9 March 1369)], it was decreed to compile the *Yüan shih*.

SUNG Lien 宋濂,[259] to whom we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the story of the compilation of the *Yüan shih*, wrote in his "Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" 元史目錄後記 [260] ["Postscript to the Table of Contents of the *Yüan shih*"] (12r3-2):

On *ping-yin* of the 2nd moon, in the spring of the following year [9 March 1369], the Bureau was opened and by *kuei-yu* 癸酉 of the 8th moon, in the autumn [12 September 1369], the work was finished.

The finishing of the *Yüan shih* is also chronicled in the *Ming shih* 2 (*ts'e* 2) .5r7:

On *kuei-yu* [. . . of the 8th moon . . . in the autumn . . . of the 2nd year (12 September 1369)] the *Yüan shih* was finished.

The "Chin Yüan-shih piao" 進元史表 [261] ["Memorial for the Presentation of the *Yüan shih*"] found at the beginning of the *Yüan shih* is dated the same day. Although it bears the name of LI Shan-ch'ang 李善長 [262] as its author, it was, in fact, written in its draft form by SUNG Lien.[263]

However, though finished, the *Yüan shih* was not yet complete. In the words of the "Chin Yüan-shih piao" (2r3-4):

From T'ai-tsu [264] above to Ning-tsung 寧宗 [265] below, basing ourselves on the texts of the *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu*, we achieved a roughly finished history in a hundred-odd *chüan*.[266]

The circumstances which prevented the historiographers from

[259] For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 128 (*ts'e* 36) .8v7-13r8.
[260] *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 宋學士集文 1 (*ts'e* 1) .11v4-12v8.
[261] Cf. the *Yüan shih* (*ts'e* 1) .1r1-3r10.
[262] For his biography cf. the *Ming shih* 127 (*ts'e* 36) .1r4-7r10.
[263] For the draft cf. the *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 1 (*ts'e* 1) .10v8-11v13.
[264] I.e., Činggis Qan.
[265] I.e., Irinjibal Qayan.
[266] Although this statement constitutes a drastic revision of the text in the *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* (11v3-6), the difference is of no consequence, insofar as our purpose here is concerned.

completing the work were set forth by SUNG Lien in his "Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" (12r6-7):

As for the period of Shun-ti 順帝,[267] as the functions of the historiographers (史) had fallen into abandon, there were no *Shih-lu* [*Veritable Records*] at all which could be cited. Wherefore, [the historiographers] had not succeeded in making a complete work.[268]

In his "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" 呂氏采史目錄序 [269] ["Preface to the Catalogue of Historical Documents gathered by Lü"] SUNG Lien reiterated the circumstances and told how he and two colleagues drew up a list of particulars, containing the kind of material needed to complete the history, and memorialized the Throne to the following effect (1r10-12):

Eleven commissioners should be dispatched to travel throughout the empire and send up to the government everything which has bearing on historical events.[270] The Pei-p'ing 北平 of the present is the former capital of the Yüan 元氏.[271] [The] Shan-tung 山東 [area][272] also is known for important garrisons.[273] There ought to be in existence some documents on the institutions of the dynasty.

Among the commissioners so dispatched was Lü Chung-shan 呂仲善.[274] As related by SUNG Lien in the same "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" (1r13-1v3):

On [the day] *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the 8th moon [6 September 1369][275] he reached Pei-p'ing. All edicts and memorials, appointments[276] and petitions, which were in the form of documents,[277] he collected together. If there were relevant foreign[278] [1v] documents, then he had them translated into [Chinese]

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[267] I. e., Toγon Temür Qaγan.

[268] Had such *Shih-lu* existed, the *pen-chi* for the reign of Shun-ti could have been completed as readily as those for the other thirteen reigns.

[269] *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 14 (*ts'e* 4).1r2-3r8.

[270] Presumably, not only just those of the 36 years in question.

[271] Hence, there would be archives with documents.

[272] In what sense is the name here used? During the T'ang it designated the whole area east of T'ung-kuan 潼關 and during the Yüan and Ming it designated the area east of Wu-t'ai-shan 五臺山. This would correspond to the general metropolitan area.

[273] Hence, there would also be archives with documents.

[274] Chung-shan is his *tzu* (字). We do not know his *ming*.

[275] I. e., 24 days later.

[276] Lit., "appointments and dismissals."

[277] Lit., "which were spread out upon documents."

[278] I. e., non-Chinese.

texts (有涉於番書則令譯而成文). As for [items] not related in official documents, such as imperial excursions, palace confidences,[279] comments on government,[280] ballads in circulation [281] as well as the inauspicious and the auspicious [in respect] of loyalty, filiality, sedition, and banditry—whether revealed [in] the *yeh-shih* 野史 ("unofficial anecdotes"), or appearing [on] stelae, or found [in] the private writings of sundry scholars—there was none which he did not search out with all his heart.

The materials which Lü gathered also included rubbings of inscriptions on stelae in Pei-p'ing and Shan-tung. As further related by SUNG Lien in the "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" (1v10-11):

On [the day] *jen-yin* 壬寅 of the 3rd moon [9 March 1370] he carted [them] back to the Capital.[282] Afterwards, the [other ten] commissioners all assembled. [I, SUNG] Lien, thereupon, had reliable [material] to compile and complete the *Hsü shih* 續史 [*Continued History*] in 48 *chüan*.

Finally, in his "Yüan shih mu-lu hou-chi" SUNG Lien wrote (12r8-12v1):

Again, on [the day] *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 of the 2nd moon, in the spring, of the following year [3 March 1370], the Bureau was opened and by [the day] *ting-hai* 丁亥 of the 7th moon, in the autumn [23 July 1370], the work was finished. Again it was presented.

Of the various sources thus accessible to the Ming historiographers for the compilation of the *Yüan shih*, the only two expressly mentioned by title are the *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu*, which, although unhappily not extant, provided requisite material for thirteen of the *pen-chi* 本紀 ("basic annals") as well as many *lieh-chuan* 列傳 ("biographies"), and the monumental *Ching-shih ta-tien*, which, happily partially extant,[283] provided material for the *piao* 表 ("tables") as well as the *chih* 志 ("treatises") of the *Yüan shih*.[284]

SUNG Lien, it will be recalled, stated in his "Lü shih ts'ai-shih mu-lu hsü" (1r14-1v1) that, "if there were relevant foreign [1v] documents, then he had them translated into [Chinese] texts." It

[279] I.e., classified material.
[280] Lit., "good and evil in government of the time."
[281] Lit., "songs and ballads on customs of the people."
[282] I.e., Nan-ching.
[283] For this encyclopaedia begun in 1329 and completed in 1332 see note 258 above.
[284] Cf., e.g., HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

was WANG Kuo-wei 王國維 [285] who, in the light of this statement, first proposed in his "Meng-wen Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih pa" 蒙文元朝秘史跋 [286] ["Colophon to the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in the Mongolian Language"] that *The Secret History of the Mongols* was translated into Chinese in 1369.[287] His observation reads as follows (2r8-9):

Hence the task of collecting history in the 2nd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1369] really included the work of translation. Hence the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, too, is one of the foreign texts which they translated.

In the opinion of William HUNG, "The time may, indeed, have been as WANG Kuo-wei thought, the second half of the year 1369. But one need not be so definite." [288] The author of "The Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*" suggests, for his part, that the Mongolian text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* may have been sent to Nanking by Hsü Ta in 1368.[289] In other words, the text may have gone down from Pei-p'ing in 1368 together with the *Shih-san-ch'ao shih-lu* and, possibly, "books such as the Yüan *Ching-shih ta-tien*."

WANG Kuo-wei went on to make a second observation (2r10-11):

Regrettably, in the 3rd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1370], at the time when they resumed the compilation, they only continued [it] into the events of the single reign of Shun-ti and, in [the case of] the already completed 169 *chüan*, they had not taken the time [290] to revise. Hence in the *Yüan shih* they never used any of the material in this book.

William HUNG, however, inclining to the supposition that a Chinese translation of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* may have been accessible to the compilers, when they began their work in 1369, explains in somewhat different terms their failure to use the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* as source material: [291]

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[285] 3 December 1877—2 June 1927. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, "王國維 Wang Kouo-wei," *T'oung pao* 26 (1929).70-72.

[286] Cf. the *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*ts'e* 7), "Kuan-t'ang chi-lin" 觀堂集林 16, "Shih-lin" 史林 8, 1r4-2v11.

[287] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

[288] *Op. cit.*, p. 459.

[289] *Op. cit.*, p. 459.

[290] I. e., pains.

[291] *Op. cit.*, pp. 459-460.

. . . They were official scholars interested in finishing the compilation quickly in order soon to go home or to receive rewards by way of promotion. They were not research students under the compulsion of scientific accuracy and completeness. And a hurried comparison of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* with the veritable records of the reigns of Činggis and Ögödei might have, indeed, given them the notion that the latter already included all that was [460] worth taking from the former. Since they could easily rearrange, cut and condense the veritable records, why should they have troubled themselves with the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, some parts of which they might even have considered as unbelievable and unedifying? . . . .

The weight of evidence, circumstantial though it be, favors, in my opinion, the supposition of William HUNG. In any case, it is an indisputable fact that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was not used as a source of the *Yüan shih*.

WANG Kuo-wei, in the same "Colophon," made still another observation which reads as follows (2r12-2v2):

As to this book, since Lü Chung-shan sent it up to the Bureau of History, hence in the 15th year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [1382], at the time when they compiled the *Hua-i i-yü*, they were able to use [it] for [2v] reference. The layout of the text now transmitted is exactly the same as that of the Hung-wu copy of the *Hua-i i-yü*. It would seem that it issued from [blocks] which one had cut at the same time.[292] That previous persons had mistaken [it] as an edition from Yüan blocks, it would seem, is [owing to the fact] that they had not investigated [the matter] thoroughly.

Although WANG was, perhaps, too affirmative in asserting so unequivocally that Lü Chung-shan had sent *The Secret History* up to the Bureau of History, it is, nevertheless, a fact, as we know from the entry under the date of 20 January 1382 in the *Ming shih-lu*,[293] that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was used for reference in the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*.[294] Commenting on the *Shih-lu* entry PELLIOT stated in "Le Ḫōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming":[295] "Le texte est évidemment placé rétrospectivement sous 1382, qui n'est que la date de l'édit ordonnant d'entreprendre le travail; nous ne savons pas la date précise où fut achevée la transcription phonétique de l'*Histoire secrète*, mais

[292] By this WANG meant that the xylographic workmanship was the same in both cases.

[293] 141 (*ts'e* 20).3v6-4r1. See page xxiii above.

[294] See page xxiii above.

[295] *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

l'édition du *Houa-yi yi-yu* . . . n'est que de 1389."[296] William HUNG, addressing himself to the same problem, remarked: "Had we not known that the compilation was not completed until late in 1389, we might have been easily misled by that passage to think that the *Hua-i i-yü* was already compiled and published in 1382."[297] The date of 1389 is that given by LIU San-wu 劉三吾 in his preface to the *Hua-i i-yü*.[298] While suggesting that the historiographers may have drawn upon the preface of LIU San-wu for some of the entry, William HUNG hypothesizes that, since LIU made no mention, among other things, of the *Yüan pi-shih*,[299] they might have drawn upon the preface of the *Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü* 增定華夷譯語 [300] [*Enlarged Sino-Barbarian Glossaries*] [301] for the *Shih-lu* entry. That the historiographers had ample opportunity to avail themselves of the preface may be presumed, if we recall that the *Shih-lu* of T'ai-tsu of the Ming were not begun until 1399 and were not finally completed until 1418.[302]

It is, therefore, logical to conclude from this that, since the *shih-lu* entry relative to the *Hua-i i-yü* published in 1389 had been inserted retrospectively under the year 1382—the year in which the decree to compile the *Hua-i i-yü* was issued—and since the reference to the *Yüan pi-shih* is found in that part of the entry which the historiographers devoted to an exposition of the manner in which the *Hua-i i-yü* was compiled—an exposition for which they must have utilized source material which could not have existed prior to the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*—and, if the hypothesis of William Hung is correct, prior to the compilation of the *Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü*, it is not justifiable to assume that the date of 1382 is here as applicable to *The Secret History* as it is to the *Hua-i i-yü*. It must not be forgotten, however, that the decree to compile the *Hua-i i-yü* was issued very early in 1382, specifi-

[296] This date is misprinted as "1938" in note 312 on page 232 of PELLIOT's article.
[297] *Op. cit.*, p. 464. Cf. also, *op. cit.*, p. 452, n. 47, for further remarks.
[298] Cf. *Hua-i i-yü*, 上, "Hsü" 序 ["Preface"], 2v7-8: "The 15th day of the 10th moon, in the winter, of the 22nd year of [the] Hung-wu [period] [3 November 1389]."
[299] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 461 and p. 464.
[300] Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 276, and HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 463.
[301] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465.
[302] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

cally on 20 January. If it were assumed that the work started the same year, it might also be assumed that the *Yüan pi-shih* was known and available to the compilers from the start. Such assumptions might, indeed, be correct, but unfortunately cannot be proved. When we recall that the *Hua-i i-yü* was not completed until 1389—seven years after the decree was issued—and that the *Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü* was not completed until some time after that, we can only state with absolute assurance that use of the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference in the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü* must have been made sometime between the date of the edict—1382—and the date when the *Shih-lu* of T'ai-tsu of the Ming were completed—1418, however probable it may be that it was so used from the start.

With his statement of the similarity in layout of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and the *Hua-i i-yü*, however, WANG Kuo-wei drew a step nearer to the solution of the intricate problem of the relationship between the two texts—a problem which, having previously been considered by such scholars as WAN Kuang-t'ai,[303] NAKA Michiyo,[304] KANAI Yasuzō 金井保三,[305] and INABA Iwakichi 稲葉岩吉,[306] was later to be more thoroughly investigated by CH'EN Yüan [307] in his *Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao* [308] [*Study of the Characters Used in the Transcription of the Sounds of the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*], and eventually exhaustively treated by William HUNG,[309] who reversed with the most convincing of arguments a number of the conclusions reached by CH'EN Yüan.

The problem of the relationship between the two texts is important, because it involves, on the one hand, the question of the Ming printed text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and the *Yung-lo ta-tien* manuscript text and, on the other, that of when and how the original Mongolian text was transcribed, glossed, and translated. In the light of the findings of William HUNG we now have a much

[303] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
[304] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-453.
[305] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
[306] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
[307] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-458 for a discussion of CH'EN's work and especially pp. 456-457 for a summary of his conclusions.
[308] Pei-p'ing, 1934. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 434.
[309] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-465.

clearer picture of the circumstances, even though certain conclusions are still tentative.

In 1933 there were discovered in the Ming *Nei-ko ta-k'u* 內閣大庫 [310] in the Palace in Peking 41 leaves of the printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* and a few of the printed edition of the *Hua-i i-yü*. The 41 leaves of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* were included in The Commercial Press photolithographic reproduction of the "Ku collated copy," but, unfortunately, the editors did not reproduce, even though it would have meant duplication in one sense of the term, the corresponding leaves of that copy. Nevertheless, it is the conclusion of William HUNG, after a meticulous comparison of the physical disposition of the 41 leaves—the arrangement of the words in the line and the lines on the leaf—as well as the style and structure of their characters with selected leaves in the "Ku collated copy" that, with the exception of certain features peculiar to the printed edition, to which attention is drawn,[311] "the Chang Hsiang-yün copy must have been indeed a good facsimile copy of the so-called 'Hung-wu' printed edition, and that the 'Ku certified copy' must have been a good facsimile copy of the Chiang Hsiang-yün copy." The Chiang Hsiang-yün copy, it will be recalled, was the facsimile copy of the original printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 10 *chüan* and the *Hsü* [*Continuation*] in 2 *chüan*, of which KU Kuang-ch'i made a facsimile copy which came to be called the "Ku chiao pen" ["Ku collated copy"].[312] This copy, as William HUNG has also remarked, was "so reliable that all textual errors therein must be attributed also to the printed edition, most of which is now lost."[313] Although the "Ku collated copy" was never directly cut on blocks for printing, it was indirectly so cut, in the sense that the manuscript copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, which YEH Te-hui printed and published in 1908 was the copy which had belonged to WEN T'ing-shih—a copy which had descended from the "Ku collated copy."[314]

[310] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 449, where this *ta-k'u* of the *nei-ko* of the Ming is characterized as the "old storage building."
[311] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 450, n. 42.
[312] See page xxxvii above.
[313] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 450.
[314] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

As to the *Hua-i i-yü*, the differences between some of the leaves of the Ming edition, discovered in the same place at the same time, and the corresponding leaves of the old printed copy of the text reproduced in the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* 涵芬樓秘笈[315] [*Rare Books (in the Possession) of the Han-fen-lou*] in 1918 have also been set forth by William HUNG in his monumental article.[316] As the dating of these leaves has great bearing not only on the transmission of the *Hua-i i-yü*, but also on that of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, it is necessary to touch upon this question to some extent. PELLIOT had already noted that in the *Ming kung shih* 明宮史[317] [*History of the Ming Palace*] there is to be found "la mention du *Houa-yi yi-yu* en 88 feuillets."[318] "Il s'agit certainement," he added, "du *Houa-yi yi-yu* de Houo Yuan-kie; une difficulté existe cependant; même avec la pré[275]face de Lieou San-wou et le *fan-li*, on n'obtient, dans la reproduction du *Han-fen-leou pi-ki*, que 85 feuillets; les chapitres sont cependant bien complets. Y a-t-il une faute du *Ming kong che* („88" au lieu de „85"), ou manquerait-il à notre édition quelque morceau préliminaire, par example une préface de Houo Yuan-kie?"[319]

William HUNG, for his part, drew attention to the fact that in the "Ming-tai nei-fu ching-ch'ang pen-shu-mu" 明代內府經廠本書目[320] ["List of Book-Blocks in the Palace Printing Bureau"], drawn up by the eunuch, LIU Jo-yü 劉若愚, toward the close of the Ming dynasty, there are the entries "*Hua-i i-yü*: 1 *pen*, 88 leaves"[321] and "*Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü*: 11 *pen*, 1,708 leaves."[322]

[315] The Commercial Press, 1918.

[316] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 450, n. 40.

[317] *Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan* 學津討原, 第八集, 第三冊 (*ts'e* 75), 土 (*t'u*), 8r6. See also note 320 below.

[318] PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 274. The entry in the *Ming kung shih* reads: 華夷譯語: 一本八十八葉 "*Hua-i i-yü*: 1 *pen*, 88 leaves."

[319] PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

[320] In the *T'ao-chi shu-mu* 陶輯書目 of T'ao Hsiang 陶湘 by whom, I was informed by Dr. William HUNG on 22 March 1962, it was reconstructed in 1933 from the *Cho-chung chih* 酌中志, a work in 24 *chüan* compiled by LIU Jo-yü 劉若愚 *circa* 1639-1644. The *Ming kung shih* in 5 *chüan* was merely a part of the *Cho-chung chih*. Cf. Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫, *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng* 四庫提要辨證 (Pei-p'ing 北平, 1958) 9.474-477.

[321] 華夷譯語: 一本八十八葉 (6v6).

[322] 增定華夷譯語: 十一本千七百八葉 (5r6).

Noting that the *Hua-i i-yü* in the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* consists of 3 + 1 + 28 + 28 + 24 leaves or 84 in all and that this is 4 leaves short of the figure given by LIU—a figure of 88, which PELLIOT thought might have been a misprint for "85" [323]—or that "some preliminary piece, for example, a preface of HUO Yüan-chieh" might be missing from the present edition of the text, William HUNG suggests: "It seems that another interpretation is also possible. The title leaf is certainly missing. The other three missing leaves may be another preface, or another letter to make the latter part of the book 28 + 27 leaves." [324]

With reference to the printed *Hua-i i-yü* in the British Museum with six vocabularies PELLIOT remarked: "Au complet, l'édition des Ming, y compris le siamois, devait avoir dix vocabulaires. Mais chacun des vocabulaires a seulement un peu plus de 100 feuillets . . . , ce qui donne au maximum pour les dix vocabulaires 1100 feuillets, au lieu que le *Ming kong che* en indique 1708. En outre, les dix vocabulaires devraient faire normalement dix volumes, au lieu que le *Ming kong che*, confirmé par une autre source, parle de onze. Il y avait donc dans le *Tseng-ting Houa-yi yi-yu* complet des matériaux dont la nature nous échappe encore; peut-être s'agit-il, au moins en partie, des additions qui manquent à l'exemplaire imprimé connu et à la plupart des exemplaires manucrits, mais on ne peut entièrement exclure la possibilité que certaines des „suppliques" aient été imprimées également." [325]

To the question raised by PELLIOT there was suggested by William HUNG a possible answer. Observing that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* is not listed in the inventory of LIU Jo-yü, despite its typography and layout suggestive of the workmanship of the Palace Printing Bureau, he proposed that, since there is given the serial number of each leaf in each *chüan* as well as the serial number of each leaf in the book as a whole, the total number of leaves of the complete book can easily be calculated by adding up the numbers of the leaves in the 10 + 2 *chüan* of the "Ku chiao pen" in The Commercial Press reproduction of the

[323] Pelliot miscounted the leaves. He should have said "84." Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 463, n. 69.

[324] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

[325] PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-276, n. 358.

text to get a total of 610. With this figure of 610 there is but a discrepancy of 2 in comparison with the figure of 608 required to make the difference between that of 1,100 and 1,708, indicated by PELLIOT. "The possibility, then," he concludes, "is that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was a [464] part of the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü*, a reference reader to follow the Sino-Mongolian vocabulary. Perhaps during the Yung-lo period, the *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü* had not yet reached the size mentioned by LIU Jo-yü two centuries later. But it might have at least consisted of the second edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389 and the first printed edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*." [326]

William HUNG further concludes that the "first edition of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was in all probability without a preface." [327] He believes, however, that there was a general preface to the *Tseng-ting Hua-i i-yü* [328] and that trace of this, as has already been noted,[329] is to be found in the entry inserted retrospectively in the *Ming Shih-lu*.

In his *Yüan pi-shih i-yin yung-tzu k'ao* [330] CH'EN Yüan mentions that he has in his possession a manuscript copy of the sectional summaries of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*—a copy which came from the library of LIU Yao-yün 劉燕雲,[331] but was originally in the *Nei-ko ta-k'u*.[332] At the end it has the following brief notation: [333]

> One set; two *pen*. Copied and received in the 8th moon of the 2nd year of [the] Yung-lo [period] [5 September—3 October 1404].

As stated above,[334] "the fact that such a manuscript copy was made suggests that the Chinese translation of the text had not previously appeared in printed form and serves to establish beyond all doubt that between 1368 and 1404—36 years in all—the

[326] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-464.
[327] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
[328] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
[329] See page liii above.
[330] Cf. 28r6-29r2.
[331] 1849-1917. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
[332] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 and 461.
[333] Cf. CH'EN, *op. cit.*, 28v1. Cf. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 456. See page xxiv above for the Chinese text of the notation.
[334] Page xxv.

text had been partially, if not integrally, translated into Chinese." For CH'EN Yüan, however, the manuscript suggested other possibilities. It was his thesis that the transcription of the Mongolian text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was made sometime in the Hung-wu period (1368-1398), subsequent to the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü* [335] and that it represented "an advanced stage of the technique." [336] As he discovered in this manuscript certain features of transcription which, in his opinion, corroborated his thesis, he concluded that the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was first printed "either simultaneously with, or very shortly after, the first (1389) edition of the *Hua-i i-yü*"—sometime, in short, between 1389 and 1398.[337]

This thesis, however, was reversed by William HUNG, who, having summarized CH'EN's findings [338] and having raised a number of questions,[339] which he promptly answered,[340] convincingly demonstrated that, whereas the transcription and translation of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History* must have been done early in the Hung-wu period, prior to the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*,[341] the printing of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* must have been done "either simultaneously with the later stage of the compilation of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, or not long after it." [342] It is the conjecture of William HUNG that, while the printed fragments of both the *Hua-i i-yü* and the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* might be from a time considerably later than the Yung-lo period (1403-1424), in the absence of evidence to the contrary, they may be assigned to the years between 1404 and 1418, and that, those of the *Hua-i i-yü* represent the second edition and those of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, the first.[343]

It is also the conjecture of William HUNG that, by the time the text was used as reference for the *Hua-i i-yü*, there might have existed "at least one copy in the Uighur script, with the Chinese

[335] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-455.
[336] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 455.
[337] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
[338] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-457.
[339] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-458.
[340] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-465.
[341] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[342] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
[343] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-463.

interlinear transcription, embodying a system of technique, not at all more advanced than that of the *Hua-i i-yü*, with interlinear translation containing variant renderings of identical terms "[344] and "at least one copy of the free and summarized translation, containing differences in literary style, divergent renderings of identical terms, and variant transcriptions of the same personal names—indications that more than one translator worked on different parts."[345] In due course, these two texts were merged into one with the Mongolian original in the Uighur script deleted.[346] However, as to precisely which of these conjectured texts the words *Yüan pi-shih* in the *Ming shih-lu* entry refer, as remarked above,[347] cannot, at this moment, be stated without qualification. It is, nevertheless, clear, as previously indicated,[348] that the Mongolian original must have been transcribed and translated before 1404.

A tentative textual lineage of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* may, therefore, be represented in its main lines schematically as follows:

1. *Mongolian original (in the Uighur script) entitled **Činggis qayan-u uǰayur* [*The Origin of Činggis Qayan*].[349]

2. *Mongolian original (in the Uighur script) entitled **Činggis qayan-u uǰayur* [*The Origin of Činggis Qayan*] with the Chinese interlinear transcription and glosses.[350]

3. *Abridged Chinese translation entitled *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* [*The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*].[351]

4. *Chinese interlinear transcription—somewhat modified from that in no. 2—and glosses, both derived from no. 2, with the Mongolian original (in the Uighur script) deleted, but with the abridged Chinese translation derived from no. 3 added, the whole—including the colophon—arbitrarily divided into 282 sections[352] and entitled *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*.

[344] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[345] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[346] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[347] Page xxiv above.
[348] Page xxiv above.
[349] For a discussion of this title, which may have been *Činggis qan-u uǰayur* in its primitive form, see "Introduction" in subsequent volume.
[350] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[351] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
[352] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-461.

5. Manuscript copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* of 1404, derived from no. 3.[353]

6. *Yung-lo ta-tien* text of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*,[354] derived from no. 4, yielding:

a) Manuscript copy of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan* in the possession of CH'IEN Ta-hsin; [355]

b) Manuscript copy of the same in the possession of PAO T'ing-po—possibly a copy of that in the possession of CH'IEN Ta-hsin [356]—which came to be possessed by HAN T'ai-hua in 1847, to be bought by the Archimandrite

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[353] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 and 461.

[354] This manuscript has been integrally reproduced in the Юань-чао би-ши (Секретная история Монголов), 15 цзюаней, Том I, Тескст, Издание текста и предисловие Б. И. Панкратова, Памятники литературы народов востока, Текста, Большая серия, VIII, Академия Наук СССР, Институт Народов Азии, Издательство Восточной Литературы, Москва, 1962 [*Yuan'-čao bi-ši* (*Secret History of the Mongols*), *15 Czyuan'*, Volume I, Text, Edition of the Text and Introduction of B. I. PANKRATOV, *Monuments of the Literature of the Peoples of the East*, Texts, Large Series, VIII, Academy of Sciences, Institute of Peoples of Asia, Publishing House of Oriental Literature, Moscow, 1962]. Pp. 18 + Сравнительная таблица деления **Юань-чао би-ши** на цзюани [" Comparative Table of the Division of the *Yuan'-čao bi-ši* into *Czyuan'* "] + 602.

On pages 14-18 of his Предисловие [" Introduction "] Dr. PANKRATOV deals specifically with the manuscript acquired by the Archimandrite Palladiĭ. On page 17 he refers to the undated note by Fu-weng 復翁 (i.e., Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 [1763-1825]) to Lu-yin 祿飲 (i.e., Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 [1728-1814]) on the last, unnumbered leaf of the manuscript (page 601 of the reproduction). As there is no translation of the note in Dr. PANKRATOV's " Introduction," I tentatively offer the following, though mindful of the problems which it contains:

" The [manner in which] the *Yung-lo ta-tien* copy divides the *chüan* is not the same as [that in which] they were divided in the original block-print edition. [As for] *chüan* 1 and *chüan* 2 herein, *chüan* 1 is the same, but *chüan* 2 is not the same [as in the original block-print edition]. As to what *chüan* 2 herein should have, it must have been cut off and placed at the head of *chüan* 3. [In] a previous *ts'e* 冊 [I] have already indicated (lit., ' conveyed ') its beginning and end. [說 *erratum pro* 訖 *est.*] The two *chüan* of the *Hsü-chi* 續集 are divided into 13, 14, and 15. [I] have already checked [them] herein. [I] imagine that, [as for] the *Cheng-chi* 集正 from *chüan* 3 to *chüan* 10, [you] have already checked the original block-print. [As it is something] which I have never seen, therefore, I have not in turn checked [it]. Herewith [I] beg that [you, my] senior, Lu-yin, correct [my errors].

Fu-weng."

C.f. also HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-462.

[355] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

[356] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

Palladiĭ in 1872,[357] and a photographic reproduction of which was presented by Paul PELLIOT to the *Pei-p'ing kuo-li t'u-shu-kuan* 北平國立圖書館 in 1933;[358]

c) Manuscript copy of the same in the possession of JUAN Yüan, possibly a copy directly or indirectly related to that in the possession of CH'IEN Ta-hsin, "since PAO was one of two men who assisted JUAN Yüan in the selection of rare and neglected books";[359]

d) Manuscript copy of the same made by CHANG Mu, in the autumn of 1821, collated by him in 1847 with the PAO collated text then in the possession of HAN T'ai-hua, and printed by him in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu*, with a colophon dated 13 July 1848.[360]

7. Ming printed text in 10 + 2 *chüan*, derived from no. 4, of which 41 leaves were discovered in 1933 and reproduced in The Commercial Press edition of the "Ku chiao pen" in 1936.[361]

a) The abridged Chinese translation in the "Hsü" 續 ["Continuation"] in 2 *chüan* was copied by SUN Ch'eng-tse from a copy in 10 + 2 *chüan* in the home of a friend into *chüan* 9 of his *Yüan-ch'ao tien-ku pien-nien k'ao* [*A Chronological Study of Political Precedents of the Yüan Dynasty*] under the title of "Pi-shih."[362]

b) The *Yüan pi-shih lüeh* [*Abridgment of the Yüan pi-shih*] by WAN Kuang-t'ai, with a preface dated 6 June 1748, was based on a copy of the text in 10 + 2 *chüan* in the possession of the celebrated CH'A 查 family, which may have been the same copy as that used by SUN. The copy of WAN's work published in the *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* was made by YANG Fu-chi from a copy in the possession of PAO T'ing-po.[363]

[357] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
[358] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
[359] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-439.
[360] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-443.
[361] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 449-450.
[362] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-437.
[363] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 448-449.

c) An incomplete printed copy of the text in 10 + 2 *chüan* was in the possession of PAO T'ing-po.[364]

8. Facsimile copy of no. 5 in the possession of CHANG Hsiang-yün.[365]

9. Facsimile copy of no. 6 in the possession of CHANG Tun-jen,[366] known as the "Ku chiao pen."[367]

a) This copy, having passed through several hands, came into the possession of Sheng-yü. While in his possession, it was recopied by WEN T'ing-shih.[368]

b) Wen had a copy made from his copy and presented it as a gift to NAITŌ Torajirō 內藤虎次郎[369] in 1902.[370]

c) NAITŌ, in turn, had a copy made from his copy for NAKA Michiyo.[371]

10. Wood-block edition of 1908 by YEH Te-hui of the WEN T'ing-shih manuscript in his possession.[372]

11. Photolithographic reproduction in 1936 by The Commercial Press of the original "KU collated copy."[373]

12. Printed copy of 1942 by SHIRATORI Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, *Onyaku Mōbun genchō hishi* 音譯蒙文元朝秘史, a reprinting of the YEH Te-hui text, with corrections, and transcription of the Mongolian text into Latin letters.[374]

If, as has already been suggested, the years 1368-1382 constitute one of the darkest periods of the text's own history on Chinese soil, how much the more do those from the time when it was written to the year 1368. The colophon to the Mongolian text—

[364] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-443 and 447.
[365] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 and 447.
[366] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 and 444-445.
[367] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-447.
[368] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
[369] 1866-1934. Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445, n. 30.
[370] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
[371] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
[372] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 446.
[373] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-447.
[374] Cf. HUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

a colophon which, as first noticed by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, has a *lacuna* [375]—reads as follows: [376]

*yeke qurilta quriju qulu*γ*ana jil* γ*uran sara-da* [58v] *Kelüren-ü Köde'e aral-un Dolo'an Bolda*γ*-a Šilgin Čeg* [. . .] *qoyar ja'ura ordos ba*⟨*u*⟩*'uju bükütür bičiju da*⟨*u*⟩*'usba.*

[We] finished writing at the moment when the Great Assembly was assembled and [when], in the year of the rat, in the moon of the dam, the palaces were pitched at Dolo'an Bolda*γ* [377] of Köde'e Aral [378] of the Kelüren,[379] between both Šilgin Čeg [380] and [. . .].[381]

Probably no part of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History* has given rise to so much controversy and speculation as its colophon, for, although it contains a date which is extremely precise in its own terms, it has not been possible to convert it into one which has proved acceptable in terms of the content of the text and the history of the period of which it treats. On pages 16-17 of his Старинное монгольское сказаніе о Чингисханѣ [*Old Mongolian Story About Čingiskhan*] published in 1866 the Archimandrite Palladiĭ wrote:

It is also impossible to speak positively about the time of the writing of the Mongolian text of the *Yuan' čao mi ši*. The author, after the relation about Čingiskhan, consecrates some pages to the reign of Ogedai and, not mentioning his death, terminates his tale with a note that the book was finished in the year of the mouse, at the time of a great assembly on the Kerulyan' River. Syuĭ sun, in one of his notes, without hesitation, assigns this year of the mouse to the cyclical sign *gen'-czy*, i. e., to the 1240th, the next to the last in the life of Ogedai. But Van' ču an' [*sic*] dai, abridger of the *Yuan' čao mi ši*, assigns the time of writing much farther, on mistaken bases; he says that in the translated text Čingis often is called *Tai czu* (Great Ancestor), and this appellation in the temple of the ancestors was given to Čingis in the 2nd year of the reign Čži da (a. 1309); consequently, [17] the composition [was] written already after this year; [it is] obvious that Van' guan' dai accepts the translated Chinese text of the *Yuan' čao mi ši* as contemporary with the Mongolian; moreover, the appellation of *Tai czu*, given to Čingiskhan, was used from the first times of the accession of the Mongols in China*); finally, according to an observation of Van' guan' dai himself, by the word *Tai czu*

[375] *Op. cit.*, pp. [258]-]265[.
[376] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, "Hsü," 2.58r5-58v2.
[377] I.e., "Seven Solitary Hills." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [258]-[259].
[378] I.e., "Köde'e Isle."
[379] I.e., the Kelüren River.
[380] I.e., "Mountain-Rue Hillock." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [259]-[260].
[381] Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [258]-[260].
* *luŭ*. Cz. 4, 7; 7, 2, 14.

in the Chinese translation [was] rendered the word *Čingis khakhan'* of the tonic transposition. Therefore, the opinion of Van' guan' daï will not do. In my opinion, the circumstance that the book was written or finished at one of the assemblies in Mongolia—which at that time was an annual custom—proves that the compilation of the present history relates to the times of the first four khans; because, in subsequent times, with the division of the house of the Čingiskhanids, there were not seen any longer the general assemblies within Mongolia, especially on the Kerulun. It is also possible to point to the simplicity and unaffectedness of the style of the *Yuan' čao mi ši*, qualities, which confirm that, at that time, the Mongols had not yet emerged from an original, steppe way of life.

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that, since the time when the Archimandrite Palladiĭ expressed his views on the dating of the Mongolian text of *The Secret History*, although the problem has been considered by a number of scholars, it does not seem that any substantial progress has been made in the matter of its solution. While there has been a tendency to date the text later and later, with the result that the suggested dates of its composition now range from the years 1228 to 1264, the grounds for later dating have become increasingly hypothetical.

The continuation of this "Introduction" is to appear in a subsequent volume.

The Secret History of the Mongols

Chapter I

§1 [1r] The origin of Činggis Qahan.

There was a bluish wolf which was born having [his] destiny from Heaven above. His spouse was a fallow doe. They came, passing over the Tenggis.[1] There was Batačiqan [1v] which was born when they had encamped at the head of the Onan River, at [Mount] Burqan Qaldun.

§2 The son of Batačiqan [was] Tamača. The son of Tamača [was] Qoričar Mergen. The son of Qoričar Mergen [was] A'uǰam Boro'ul. The son of A'uǰam Boro'ul [was] [2r] Sali Qača'u. The son of Sali Qača'u [was] Yeke Nidün. The son of Yeke Nidün [was] Sem Söči. The son of Sem Söči [was] Qarču.

§3 [2v] The son of Qarču [was] Borǰigidai Mergen. He had a wife Mongγoljin Γo'a. The son of Borǰigidai Mergen [was] Toroqoljin Bayan. He had a wife Boroγčin Γo'a. He had a youth Boroldai Suyalbi. He had two noble geldings, Dayir and Boro. The sons of Toroqoljin were the twain, Duua Soqor and Dobun Mergen.

§4 [3r] Duua Soqor had an only eye in the middle of the forehead. [With it] he could look unto a place [at a distance] of three journeys.[2]

§5 [3v] One day Duua Soqor went out upon [Mount] Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother, Dobun Mergen. Duua Soqor, looking from upon [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, saw, when he looked, a band of people which, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream, was drawing nigh, and,

[1] I. e., the "Sea."

[2] Although the epithet *Soqor* in the name of Duua Soqor means "Blind," it is clear from this text, as remarked by Paul Pelliot in note 3 on page 103 of his posthumous *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), that it also means "One-Eyed." Hence Duua Soqor means not Duua "The Blind," but Duua "The One-Eyed."

§6 [4r] when he spake, saying, "At the forefront[3] of one black cart in the midst of those people which, journeying, are drawing nigh, one maiden is good. If she have not yet been given unto a man, I shall request her for thee, my younger brother, Dobun Mergen," he sent his younger brother [4v] Dobun Mergen for to see [her].

§7 When Dobun Mergen was come unto those people, [he saw that] verily it was [5r] a maiden, beautiful and good, whose fame and name [were] great, named Alan Γo'a, and which had not yet been given unto a man.

§8 And, [as for] that band of people, a maiden named Baryuǰin Γo'a, daughter of Baryudai Mergen, Lord of Köl Baryuǰin Hollow, had been given unto Qorilartai Mergen, chief of the Qori Tumad. That [was] the maiden which was born of Baryuǰin Γo'a of Qorilartai Mergen [5v] at Ariγ Usun in the land of the Qori Tumad and named Alan Γo'a.

§9 [6r] Qorilartai Mergen, [because] in their land of the Qori Tumad [the people] had forbidden[4] unto one another their land having sables, squirrels, and wild beasts and [because, therefore,] he was displeased with [his neighbours], taking the clan name Qorilar,[5] saying, "The wild beasts of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun are easy to hunt and the land [there] is good," was drawing nigh, journeying unto the Uriangqai, Burqan Bosqaγsan and Šinči Bayan, Lords of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun. Such [was] the manner in which [Duua Soqor] there requested, and Dobun Mergen took [to wife] Alan Γo'a, daughter of Qorilartai Mergen [6v] of the Qori Tumad and which was born at Ariγ Usun.

§10 [7r] Alan Γo'a, coming unto Dobun Mergen, bare two sons. They were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.[6]

[3] It seems, from this passage as well as those in §§55 and 64 below, that the place occupied by the women was the front, inside the cart.

[4] In *qorilalduǰu* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*Qorilartai Mergen, Qori Tumad, qorilalduǰu,* and *Qorilar*) to explain the origin of the clan name *Qorilar*.

[5] In place of that of Qori Tumad.

[6] These two names regularly appear in inverse order elsewhere in the text (§§ 18, 19, 20, 23, 42).

§11 The elder brother Duua Soqor had four[7] sons. Mean while, [7v] the elder brother Duua Soqor passed away. After that Duua Soqor was passed away, his four sons, not looking upon their uncle as a kinsman, despised [him] and, separating themselves, journeyed, forsaking [him]. Taking the clan name Dörben those became the Dörben people.

§12 [8r] After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out for to hunt upon Toqočaγ Heights. Encountering in the forest a person of the Uriangqad, which, having killed a deer of three years old, was roasting his ribs and inwards,

§13 [8v] when Dobun Mergen spake, he said, " Companion, [give unto me of thy] roasted flesh." Saying, " I shall give [unto thee thereof]," he took [for himself] half of the breast with the lungs and the skin and gave unto Dobun Mergen all the flesh of the deer of three years old.

§14 [9r] When Dobun Mergen drew nigh, carrying [on his beast of burden] that deer of three years old, encountering on the way a poor man which was walking, leading his son [by the hand],

§15 when Dobun Mergen asked, saying, " What [manner of] person art thou?," when that man spake, he said, " I am a Ma'aliγ Baya'ud. I am in a strait. Give unto me [a morsel] from the flesh of that wild [9v] beast. I shall give unto thee this my child."

§16 Dobun Mergen, at that word, [10r] brake off and gave [unto him] a single thigh of the deer of three years old and, bringing his child, employed him within the tent.

§17 Mean while, Dobun Mergen passed away. After that Dobun Mergen was passed away, Alan Γo'a without an husband, then, bare three sons. They were named [10v] Buγu Qadagi,[8] Buγatu Salji,[9] and Bodončar Mungqaγ.[10]

§18 When her two sons, Belgünütei and Bügünütei, which before

[7] In *dörben* we have a folk etymology to explain the origin of the clan name *Dörben*.
[8] This name appears as *Buγu Qatagi* elsewhere in the text (§§19, 28, 30, 32, 33, 42).
[9] This name appears as *Buγutu Salji* in §42 below.
[10] For the explanation of this name see §28 below.

were begotten of Dobun Mergen, spake unto each other out of the sight of their mother Alan Γo'a, their mother Alan Γo'a perceived that they were talking with each other out of the sight of their mother, saying, "Although [11r] this mother of us be without brethren or kinsmen, and without an husband, she hath borne these three sons. Within the tent there is only a person of the Ma'aliγ Baya'ud. These three sons are of him."

§19 [11v] One day, in the spring, while boiling the dried [flesh of] a sheep, making these her five sons, Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buγu Qatagi, Buγatu Salji, and Bodončar Mungqaγ, to sit in a row, she gave unto each [of them] a single arrow shaft, saying, "Break [it]!" The single [arrow shaft]—how could they have hindered [it from breaking]?—each [of them] brake and cast away. [12r] Again, she bound five arrow shafts together in a bundle and gave [them unto them], saying, "Break [them]! All five, holding, every person, the five arrow shafts bound in a bundle, were in turn not able to break [them].[11]

§20 [12v] Then their mother Alan Γo'a spake. She said, "Ye, my two sons, Belgünütei and Bügünütei, doubting of me, talk with each other, saying, 'She hath borne these three sons. They are sons of whom and of what?' And your doubting is right.

§21 [13r] Every night, a bright yellow man entered by the light of the hole at the top or [by that] of the door top of the tent and rubbed my belly. His light was wont to sink into my belly. When he went out, like a yellow dog he was wont to crawl out by the beams of the sun or moon.

How [can] ye speak [so] rashly?
If one understand by that, [it is evident that]
Its sign is [that]
They are sons of Heaven.

How [can] ye speak, comparing [them] [13v]
Unto the people with black heads?[12]
When they become *qad* of all,
The common people will then understand [it]."

[11] Cf. Aesop's fable of the farmer and his sons.
[12] I. e., the common people.

§22 [14r] Again, when Alan Γo'a spake words of admonition unto her five sons, she said, "Ye, my five sons, were born of an only belly. If, like the five arrow shafts of a little while ago, ye be each alone, like those single arrow shafts, [ye] will each [of you] easily be broken by any one. If together [ye] be of one purpose like those arrow shafts bound in a bundle, how will ye easily be [broken] by any one?" [14v] Mean while, their mother Alan Γo'a passed away.

§23 After that their mother Alan Γo'a was passed away, when the brethren—all five—divided among one another their herd and food, [15r] Be[l]günütei, Bügünütei, Buγu Qatagi, and Buγatu Salǰi—all four—took [each his part]. Saying, "He is foolish and feebleminded,"[13] not counting [him] as a kinsman, they gave not a part unto Bodončar.

§24 [15v] Bodončar, not being counted as a kinsman, saying, "While I am here, what [shall I do]?," riding upon a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone,[14]

With sores on the backbone,
With a hairless tail,[15]

saying,

"If I die, I shall die.
If I live, I shall live,"

set out, betaking himself down along the Onan River. Betaking himself, arriving [at] Baljun Isle, making there a tent [which was but] a grass hut, he lived there; he dwelt [there].

§25 [16r] At the moment when he was so living, seeing a gray falcon which had caught and was eating a black pheasant, snaring [him] with the tailhair of the grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone,

[13] Hence his name, *Bodončar Munggaγ*, i.e., Bodončar "The Fool." In *buda⟨u⟩'u* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*buda⟨u⟩'u* and *Bodončar*).

[14] Which further implies "with black mane and black tail." See also §§25, 90, and 205 below.

[15] See also §25 below.

With sores on the backbone,
With a hairless tail,[16]

he caught and raised [him] up.

§26 [16v] When he was without food to eat, he was wont to espy a wild beast which was compassed of wolves at a cliff and, shooting and killing [him], was wont to eat [him] with [his falcon]. He [also] gathered together [with his falcon] and ate [the remnants of that] which the wolves had eaten. And while, together with his own gullet, he also was nourishing his falcon, that year expired.

§27 [17r] It became spring. At the time when the ducks came, he suffered his falcon to hunger and [then] loosed [him]. He laid [on branches] the ducks and geese [which the falcon had caught], until there stank

Stenches
At every rotten tree;
Stinks
At every withered tree.

§28 [17v] From the back of [Mount] Düyiren a band of people came, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream. Bodončar, having loosed his falcon, was wont to go unto those people, drink mare's milch in the daytime, and at night, coming to his tent [which was but] a grass hut, was wont to tarry the night.

§29 [18r] When those people requested the falcon of Bodončar, he gave [him] not. [Thus] they lived side by side, without those people asking Bodončar, saying, "Of whom [art thou the son] and of what [clan art thou]?" and without Bodončar asking those people, saying, "What people [are ye]?"

§30 His elder brother [18v] Buγu Qatagi came, seeking his younger brother Bodončar Mungqaγ, saying, "He is gone down along this Onan River." When he inquired, saying unto the people which were come, journeying down along the Tünggelig Stream, that he was such and such a man and had such [and such] a horse,

[16] See also §24 above.

§31 [19r] when those people spake, they said, "Both man and horse are like unto [those concerning which] thou inquirest. And he hath a falcon. Every day he cometh unto us, drinketh mare's milch, and departeth. Who knoweth where he hath slept at night? If there be a wind [19v] from the northwest, the feathers and down of the ducks and geese which he hath made to be caught by the falcon scatter and blow hither like a whirlwind of snow. He is near here. Now is the time when he will come. Wait a moment."

§32 [20r] While it was [yet but] a moment, a man was drawing nigh, [coming] up along the Tünggelig Stream. When, arriving, he came, it was, indeed, Bodončar. His elder brother Buγu Qatagi, having seen [him] and having recognized [him], guiding [him], set out, trotting and [20v] betaking himself up along the Onan River.

§33 When Bodončar, following after his elder brother Buγu Qatagi, trotting and going on, spake, he said, "Elder brother, elder brother,

[If] a body have a head, [it is good];
[If] a garment have a collar, [it is] good."

His elder brother, Buγu Qatagi, regarded not as any thing those his words.

§34 [21r] Again, when he spake the same words, his elder brother, not regarding [them] as any thing, gave not an answer unto them. Bodončar went on and again spake the same words. When, at that word, his elder brother spake, he said, "What same, same words hast thou been saying since a little while ago?"

§35 [21v] Thereupon, when Bodončar spake, he said, "The people of a little while ago which are at the Tünggelig Stream are without [a difference between] big or little, bad or good, head or hoof. [They] are [all] equal. They are an easy people [to surprise]. Let us rob them."

§36 [22r] Thereupon, when his elder brother spake, he talked with [him, saying], "Yea, if it be so, when we arrive at our tent, let us, brethren, take counsel and [then] rob those people."

§37 Being come unto their tent, the brethren talked with one another and [then] set forth. They made [22v] the same Bodončar to haste as a spy.

§38 Bodončar, hasting as a spy, seized a woman which was with child and asked, saying, "What [manner of] person [art] thou?" When that woman spake, she said, "I am an Adangqan Uriangqai of the J̌arči'ud."

§39 [23r] The brethren—all five—spoiled those people and attained unto herd and food, unto people and servant, unto living and dwelling.

§40 [23v] That woman which was with child came unto Bodončar and bare a son. Saying that he was the son of a foreign[17] people, they named him J̌ajiradai.[18] The ancestor of the J̌adaran was he. The son of that J̌adaradai[19] was named Tügü'üdei. The son of Tügü'üdei was Büri Bulčiru. The son of Büri Bulčiru was Qara Qada'an. The son of Qara Qada'an was J̌amuγa. They which have the clan name J̌adaran [24r] were those.

§41 That woman again bare one son of Bodončar. Saying that she was [24v] a woman whom he had seized,[20] he named that son Ba'aridai. He became the ancestor of the Ba'arin. The son of Ba'aridai [was] Čiduqul Bökö. Čiduqul Bökö was one whose wives were many. His sons were born as if in heaps.[21] They which have the clan name Menen Ba'arin were those.

§42 [25r] Belgünütei became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Belgünüd. Bügünütei became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Bügünüd. Buγu Qatagi became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Qatagin. Buγutu Salǰi became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name

[17] In *ǰad* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*ǰad, J̌ajiradai, J̌adaran* and *J̌adaradai*).

[18] This alternates with J̌adaradai below.

[19] This alternates with J̌ajiradai above.

[20] In *bariǰu* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*bariǰu, Ba'aridai, Ba'arin, Menen Ba'arin*).

[21] In *mene* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*mene* and *Menen Ba'arin*). See also §260 for another figurative use of *mene*.

Salǰi'ud. Bodončar became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Borǰigin.

§43 [25v] [He who] was born of the wife which Bodončar himself had taken was named Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči. Bodončar had taken as concubine her which was come as *inǰe* [22] of the mother of that Qabiči Ba'atur. One son was born. He was named J̌e'üredei. J̌e'üredei before had part in the *ǰügeli*.[23]

§44 [26r] After that Bodončar was passed away, saying, "[In] the tent there hath constantly been a person of the Adangqa Uriangqad. He is probably [begotten] of him," they expelled that J̌e'üredei out of the *ǰügeli* and caused [him] to become one which was of the J̌e'üreyid clan. [26v] The ancestor of the J̌e'üred was he.

§45 The son of Qabiči Ba'atur was Menen Tudun. The sons of Menen Tudun were [27r] the seven, Qači Külüg, Qačin, Qači'u, Qačula, Qači'un, Qaraldai, and Način Ba'atur.

§46 Qaidu, the son of Qači Külüg, was born of Mother Nomolun. The son of Qačin was named Noyagidai. Because by nature he liked to play the chief,[24] he became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name [27v] Noyakin. The son of Qači'u was named Barulatai. He had a big body and was ravenous [25] at food. He became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name Barulas. Because the sons of Qačula were ravenous at food, one named them the Yeke Barula [26] and the Üčügen Barula [27] and made [of them] those which have the clan name Barulas. The Barulas such as the Erdemtü Barula and the Tödö'en Barula were those. Because the sons of Qaraldai were without a head [among them]

[22] I. e., dowry.

[23] A sacrifice consisting of offering meat which was suspended on a pole. Here again we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*J̌e'üredei, ǰügeli, J̌e'üreyid,* and *J̌e'üred*). See also §44 below, where the folk etymology based on a consonance is further developed in *J̌e'üreyid* and *J̌e'üred.*

[24] In *noyamšiγ* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*Noyagidai, noyamšiγ,* and *Noyakin*).

[25] In *baruγ* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*Barulatai, baruγ, Yeke Barula, Üčügen Barula, Barulas, Erdemtü Barula,* and *Tödö'en Barula*).

[26] I. e., "The Big Barula."

[27] I. e., "The Little Barula."

which should stir [28r] the millet,[28] they which have the clan name Buda'ad were those. The son of Qači'un was named Adarkidai. Because he was a backbiter[29] among the brethren, [his descendants] had the clan name Adargin. The sons of Način Ba'atur were named Uru'udai and Mangγutai. They became [the ancestors of] those which have the clan names Uru'ud and Mangγud. Those which were born of the wife which Način Ba'atur himself had taken were named [28v] Siju'udai and Doγoladai.

§47 The sons of Qaidu were the three, Bai Šingqor Doγšin, Čaraqai Lingqu, and Ča'uǰin Örtegei. The son of Bai Šingqor Doγšin was Tumbinai Sečen. Senggüm Bilge and Ambaγai, sons of Čaraqai Lingqu, were [the ancestors of] those which have the clan name Tayiči'ud. The one which was born of the wife [which had been] [29v] the sister in law of Čaraqai Lingqu was named Besütei. They which have the clan name Besüd were those. The sons of Ča'uǰin Örtegei became [the ancestors of] those which have the clan names Oronar, Qongqotan, Arula[d], Sönid, Qaburγas, and Geniges.

§48 [30r] The sons of Tumbinai Sečen were the twain, Qabul Qahan and Sem Sečüle. The son of Sem Sečüle was Bültečü Ba'atur. The sons of Qabul Qahan were seven. Ökin Barqaγ, the eldest, Bartan Ba'atur, Qutuγtu Münggür,[30] [30v] Qutula Qahan, Qulan, Qada'an and Tödö'en Odčigin were these seven.

§49 The son of Ökin Barqaγ was Qutuγtu Yürki.[31] The sons of Qutuγtu Yürki were the twain, [31r] Seče Beki and Taiču.[32] They which have the clan name Yürki were those.

[28] In *buda'an* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*buda'an* and *Buda'ad*).

[29] In *adaruγči* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*Adarkidai*, *adaruγči*, and *Adargin*). See also §164 below.

[30] The name is written *Qutuγtu Müngler* in §140.

[31] In §139 below, however, we read: "His (i.e., Ökin Barqaγ's) son was Sorqatu J̌ürki." The form *Qutuγtu Yürki* is, in fact, an error for *Sorqatu Yürki* (~*Sorqatu J̌ürki* which also occurs in §122 below.) The alternation *Yürki*~*J̌ürki* is also attested in other sources.

[32] See, however, §179 below, where they erroneously are called the sons of Bartan Ba'atur. The name *Seče Beki* is written *Sača Beki* elsewhere in the text.

§50 The sons of Bartan Ba'atur were these four, Menggetü Kiyan, Nekün Taisi, Yesügei Ba'atur, and Daritai Odčigin. The son of Qutuγtu Münggür was Büri Bökö. The one which clave asunder [31v] the shoulder of Belgütei, at the moment when they were feasting in the forest of the Onan [River], was he.[88]

§51 The sons of Qutula Qahan were the three, J̌oči, Girma'u, and Altan. The son of Qulan Ba'atur was Yeke Čeren. He was the chief of the two [32a] freemen, Badai and Kišiliγ. Both Qada'an and Tödö'en were without issue.

§52 Qabul Qahan ruled all the Mongγol. After Qabul Qahan, [32v] according to the word of Qabul Qahan, although there were his seven sons, Ambaγai Qahan, son of Senggüm Bilge, ruled all the Mongγol.

§53 Ambaγai Qahan gave [his] daughter unto the Ayiri'ud Buiru'ud Tatar people which were at the Urši'un River between both Lake Buyur and Lake Kölen. As he was departing, [33r] himself accompanying his daughter, the Tatar J̌üyin people seized Ambaγai Qahan. At the moment when they were taking [him] unto the Altan Qahan of the Kitad, when Ambaγai Qahan sent, speaking by the messenger Balaγači, a person of the Besüd, when he sent, speaking, saying, "When [thou] shalt have spoken unto Qutula, the middlemost of the seven sons of Qabul Qahan, among [my] ten sons, speak unto Qada'an Taisi," he sent, saying, "Beware, [instructed] by [what hath befallen] me, of yourself accompanying your daughter, when ye will be *qahan* of all and [33v] Lord of the Nation. I have been seized by the Tatar people.

Till the nails of your five fingers
Disappear through wear;
Till your ten fingers
Are worn away through rubbing,[84]

strive to avenge me." [85]

[88] See §131 below.

[84] See §276 below.

[85] Ambaγai Qahan, although not in the line of succession, was named by Qabul Qahan as his successor (§52). He, in turn, anticipating the election of which we

§54 [34r] At that time, at the moment when Yesügei Ba'atur was going, falconing at the Onan River, he encountered Yeke Čiledü of the Merkid, which, having taken a maiden from the Olqunu'ud people and having made [her] to arise, was drawing nigh. When he leaned forward [upon his horse] and looked, seeing a woman whose beauty [was] other [than ordinary], he hasted back to his tent and came [back], guiding his elder brother Nekün Taisi and his younger brother Daritai Odčigin.

§55 [35r] With [their] arriving, Čiledü was afraid. He had a swift dun. With [his] striking the thigh of his dun and [his] fleeing over a hill, all three followed behind him. With Čiledü's returning round about a spur [of the hill] and coming unto his cart, then, when Hö'elün Üjin spake, saying, "Hast thou observed those three men? They are other [in countenance] [35v] than [all other] countenances. They have the countenance [of being desirous] of attaining unto thy life. If there be [for thee] but thy life, there are [for thee]

Maidens
At every forefront; [36]
Women
At every black cart.

If there be [for thee] but thy life, thou shalt find a maiden or a woman. Thou shalt also name Hö'elün [her] which hath another name. Save thy life. Go scenting my scent," [37] she put off her shift and, with [his] reaching forth [his hands] and taking [it] from upon [36r] [his] horse and with [all] three coming round about the spur [of the hill] and drawing nigh, Čiledü struck the thigh of the swift dun, fled in haste, and fled up along the Onan River.

§56 [36v] All three, pursuing from behind, chased until they had passed over seven hills and, when they were come, returning, Yesügei Ba'atur led [the beast of] Hö'elün Üjin [37r] by the tether,

read below (§57), designated in the manner herein related two candidates: Qutula, a son of Qabul Qahan, and Qada'an Taisi, one of his own sons. With the eventual election of Qutula (§57) the line of succession reverted to the family of Qabul Qahan.

[36] I.e., at the forefront of every cart. See note 8 above.

[37] See also §245 below in which it is related that Father Münglig scents the hat of his son Teb Tenggeri.

his elder brother Nekün Taisi guided, and his younger brother Daritai Odčigin rode beside the shafts and, at the moment when they drew nigh, when Hö'elün Üjin spake, having said, "Mine 'elder brother' Čiledü is one

Whose tuft hath never blown
Against the wind;
Whose belly hath never hungered
In the desert land.

Now how, tossing his two braids [38] [of hair] one time [37v] on his back, tossing [them] one time on his breast, one time forward, one time backward, how [so] doing, goeth he?," at the moment when, wailing with a loud voice

Till she stirred up the Onan River;
Till she shook the woods and valley,

she drew nigh, when Daritai Odčigin going, riding beside [her], spake, he warned [her], saying,

"Thine who embraced [thee] [38r]
Hath much passed over passes.

Thine who is bewailed [of thee]
Hath much passed over waters.

If [thou] shout,
Though he look back, he will not see thee.

If [thou] track [him],
Thou shalt not find his way.[39]

Be still!" So Yesügei brought Hö'elün Üjin unto his tent. Such [was] the manner in which Yesügei brought Hö'elün Üjin.

§57 [39r] Forasmuch as Ambaγai Qahan had named both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongγol and Tayiči'ud assembled [in] the Qorqonaγ Valley of the Onan [River] and made Qutula *qahan*. As for the rejoicing of the Mongγol, they were wont to rejoice,

[38] For another reference to the "braids [of hair]" see §214 below.
[39] See also §183 below for a somewhat similar passage.

dancing and feasting. Having raised up Qutula [as] *qa*, they danced round about the Branching Tree [40] of Qorqonaγ [Valley], [39v] until there was

A ditch up to [their] ribs;

[until there was]

Dust up to [their] knees.

§58 Qutula having become *qahan*, both [he and] Qada'an Taisi set forth against the Tatar people. Thirteen times they joined battle [40r] with both Kötön Baraqa and J̌ali Buqa of the Tatar, [but] they were not able

To avenge
The avengement,
To requite
The requital [41]

of Ambaγai Qahan.

§59 Then, when Yesügei Ba'atur came, having spoiled [40v] the Tatar such as Temüǰin Üge and Qori Buqa of the Tatar, then, when Hö'elün Üǰin was with child, at the moment when she was at Deli'ün Hill of the Onan [River], even then Činggis Qahan was born. At the moment when he was born, he was born, holding in his right hand a clot of blood the size of a knuckle bone.[42] Such [was the manner in which] one gave [unto him] the name Temüǰin, saying, "He was born at the moment when one brought Temüǰin Üge of the Tatar."

§60 [41r] Of Hö'elün Üǰin of Yesügei Ba'atur these four sons, Temüǰin, Qasar, Qači'un, and Temüge, were born. One daughter named Temülün [41v] was born. At the moment when Temüǰin was nine years old, J̌oči Qasar was seven years old; Qači'un Elči was five years old; Temüge Odčigin was three years old; Temülün was [yet] in the cradle.

§61 [42r] Yesügei Ba'atur, at the moment when Temüǰin was

[40] For further reference to this storied tree see §§117 and 206 below.
[41] For other examples of this frequently used couplet see §§154, 214, and 254 below.
[42] See also §78 below.

nine years old, having taken Temüjin, betook himself unto the Olqunu'ud people, kindred of Mother Hö'elün, saying, "I shall request a maiden from the brethren of his mother." At the moment when he was going, he encountered Dei Sečen of the Unggirad between both [Mount] Čegčer and [Mount] Čiqurgu.

§62 [42v] When Dei Sečen spake, he said, "*Quda*[43] Yesügei, [thou] art drawn nigh, getting thee unto whom?" When Yesügei Ba'atur spake, he said, [43r] "I am drawn nigh unto the Olqunu'ud people, the brethren of the mother of this my son, saying, 'I shall request a maiden.'" When Dei Sečen spake, he said, "This thy son is a son

With fire in his eyes,
With light in his face.[44]

§63 *Quda* Yesügei, I, this night, dreamed a dream, I. A white gerfalcon,[45] holding [43v] both sun and moon, flew hither and is lighted into my hand. When I spake this my dream unto people, saying, '[Hitherto,] when I have beheld the sun and the moon, they have [only] been seen. Now this gerfalcon, holding and bringing [them hither], is lighted into my hand. It is descended [all] white. What good thing sheweth it?,'—*Quda* Yesügei, I saw this my dream, at the moment when thou wast leading [44r] thy son hither. I dreamed a dream—[a] good [one]. What dream is it? A good omen of you Kiyad people is come and hath [fore]told [that thou wast coming hither].

§64 [44v] We Unggirad people from days of old,

Having [for us] the comeliness
Of the daughters of [our] daughters,

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[43] A kinship term used by and in reference to those who are relatives by virtue of the marriage of their children.

[44] For the same words, in inverse order, applied to Börte, the future bride of Temüjin, see §66 below. See also §§82 and 149 below.

[45] White was the color of good omen with the Mongols. For other examples of this epithet see also "white rock" in §80, "white felt" in §189, "white standard with nine feet [= scallops]" in §202, "white clothing" and "white geldings" in §216, and "white gerfalcons" and "white geldings" in §239.

And the beauty
Of [our] daughters,

have not been disputing empire.

For those of you which are become *qahan*,
We make [our] daughters comely of cheek
To ride in a Qasay [46] cart
And, making [one] to harness a black he camel [to it],
Making him to trot, we go [unto the *qahan*]
And make [them] to sit together [with the *qahan*]
On the *qatun* throne.

We dispute not [either] empire [or] peoples. [45r]

Raising up our daughters good of beauty,
We make [them] to ride in a cart with a forefront [47]
And, making [one] to harness a blackish he camel [to it],
Accompanying [them], we go [unto the *qahan*]
And make [them] to sit at one of the sides [of the *qahan*]
On a high throne.

From of old the Unggirad people

Have had round shields [which are] *qatun*,
Petitions [which are] daughters.[48]
We have had our being
By the comeliness
Of the daughters of [our] daughters
And the beauty
Of [our] daughters.[49]

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[46] I.e., Kirgis.

[47] See note 8 above.

[48] "They are our daughters and daughters of daughters, who, become princesses by their marriage, serve us as shields against our enemies and by the petitions that they present to their husbands obtain favors for us." Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, p. [10].

[49] See also §176 below, where these words are quoted by Činggis Qahan.

§65 [45v] [As for] our boys,
One regardeth [our] encampment.[50]
[As for] our girls,
[Their] beauty is beheld.[51]

Quda Yesügei, let us go unto my tent. My daughter is little. Let [my] *quda* see [her]." Dei Sečen guided [him] unto his tent and made [him] to light [off his horse].

§66 [46r] When he saw his daughter, he saw a maiden

With light in her face,
With fire in her eyes,[52]

and he suffered [her] to enter into his thoughts. She was ten [years old], one year older than Temüǰin. She was named Börte. Tarrying the night, when, the next morning, he requested his [46v] daughter, when Dei Sečen spake, he said, "If I give [my daughter], [after] letting [thee] request [her] many times, shall [I] be exalted? If [I] give [my daughter], [after] letting [thee] request [her but] a few times, shall [I] be abased? [It will not be so, for] the destiny of a girl is not to wax old at the door[53] where she was born. I will give [unto thee] my daughter. And go [thou], leaving thy son as son in law." There being "yea" on the one side and the other, [47r] when Yesügei Ba'atur spake, having said, "I shall leave my son as son in law. My son is afraid of dogs. *Quda*, suffer not my son to be affrighted at dogs," giving his led horse as a token and leaving Temüǰin as son in law, he departed.

[50] I. e., "When an Unggirad family requests a girl of another clan for its son—that which is always the case in view of the custom imposing exogamy—, the parents of the girl, before giving their consent 'regard the encampment,' that is to say examine the state of the fortune, the riches in herds, etc. of the family which wishes to ally itself with them and give their girl only if they judge that the latter will lack for nothing in her new abode." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [12].

[51] I. e., "For that which regards the Unggirad girls, the case is other. The families of another clan which request them for their sons regard only the beauty, and as the latter is never wanting, the Unggirad girls always find a good match." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [12].

[52] See note 44 above.

[53] I. e., "in the family."

§67 [47v] Yesügei Ba'atur encountered on the way the Tatar people which were feasting at the Šira Steppe of [Mount] Čegčer, and, being thirsty, he lighted [off his horse] at their feast. [48r] Those Tatar recognized [him]. Having said, "Yesügei Kiyan is come," remembering their enmity [provoked by the fact] that they had been spoiled [by him], secretly harming [him], they poisoned [him] and, mixing poison, they gave [it unto him in his food]. On the way, [being] bad, he went on and, going three days, being arrived at his tent, he was bad.

§68 [48v] When Yesügei Ba'atur spake, he said, "Within me [I] am bad. Who is at hand?" When one said, "Münglig, the son of Old Man Čaraqa of the Qongqotad, is nigh," calling [him], he made [him] to come and, when he spake, having said, [49r] "Münglig, my child, I am one whose sons are little. When I came [back], after leaving my son Temüǰin as son in law, I was secretly harmed on the way by the Tatar people. Within me [I] am bad. Know thou how thou shalt care for thy little younger brethren [54] which shall have remained and of thine elder sister in law [which is] a widow.[55] Go quickly and fetch my son Temüǰin, Münglig, my child," [49v] he passed on.

[54] I. e., "my little sons." See also §272 where Tolui calls his sons the "younger brethren" of Ögödei.

[55] I. e., Hö'elün Üǰin. See also §272 where Tolui calls his wife Berüde the "younger sister in law" of Ögödei.

Chapter II

§69 [1r] When Münglig, not violating the word of Yesügei Ba'atur, went and spake unto Dei Sečen, he said, "Elder Brother Yesügei thinketh exceedingly on Temüǰin and his heart paineth. [I] am come for to take Temüǰin." When Dei Sečen spake, he said, "If the *quda* think on his son, let him go. When he shall have seen [him], let him [1v] quickly come [back]," and Father Münglig came with Temüǰin.

§70 That spring, when both Örbei and Soqatai, the *qatud* of Ambaγai Qahan, offered unto the ancestors the [sacrifice called] *γaǰaru inerü*,[1] Hö'elün Üǰin went, [but,] arriving too late, was left behind [the others].[2] When Hö'elün Üǰin spake unto both Örbei and Soqatai, she said, "Say ye [unto yourselves], 'Yesügei Ba'atur [2r] hath died,' and because my sons are not [yet] big, why leave ye [me] behind from the part of the offerings to the ancestors, from the remainder of the meat for sacrifice and from the meat offered [itself]? Ye intend, before mine eyes, to eat [without inviting me to partake of the food] and to take journey, not waking [me]."

§71 [2v] At that word, when the two *qatud*, Örbei and Soqatai, spake, having said,

> "Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the rule that [something] is not given [her to eat] by calling [her].
> Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the custom that she eateth, if she happen by chance upon [something to eat].

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[1] The exact meaning of this technical term, glossed "to burn food in the earth and offer [it] in sacrifice," is unknown. Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, pp. [16]-[18].

[2] I. e., "She did not receive her part of the meats offered, the parts being already distributed." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. [23].

Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the rule that [something] is not given [her to eat] by inviting [her].
Thou [art] one for whom holdeth the custom that she eateth, if [something to eat] be attained.

[Is it] because thou sayest [unto thyself], 'Ambaγai Qahan hath died,' [that we] have been so spoken [against] even by [thee], Hö'elün?

§72 [3r] It were best [to act on this wise]: Forsaking in the encampment these, mothers and sons, take journey and take ye [them] not away," from the morrow Taryutai Kiriltuy of the Tayiči'ud and Tayiči'ud such as Tödö'en Girte removed down along the Onan River. When they [3v] forsook Hö'elün Üjin, mothers and sons, and took journey, at the moment when Old Man Čaraqa of the Qongqotad went and admonished [them], when Tödö'en Girte spake, having said,

"The deep water hath dried up.
The bright stone is broken to pieces," [8]

he took journey. Saying, "How admonishest thou [us]?," from behind he pierced Old Man Čaraqa along the back with a spear.

§73 [4r] At the moment when Old Man Čaraqa, being wounded, came [back] to his tent and lay down with difficulty, Temüjin went for to see [him]. Then, when Old Man [4v] Čaraqa of the Qongqotad spake, he said, "When, taking [with them] the people which had been assembled by thy good father and the people of us all, they were taking journey, as I was admonishing [them], it was so done [unto me]." At that, Temüjin, having wailed, went out and departed. When, forsaking Hö'elün Üjin, they were taking journey, holding the standard, she herself set forth and caused half of the people to return. And those [5r] people which had been caused to return, not remaining, journeyed after the Tayiji'ud.

§74 After that the Tayiči'ud brethren had forsaken in the encampment Hö'elün Üjin—the widow—the sons and the little ones, [5v] the mothers and the sons, and had taken journey,

[8] I.e., "The situation is now quite different." See also §§147 and 209 below.

When Hö'elün Üjin, a woman being born able,
Nourished her little sons,
Putting [her] *boyta* on [her head] so as to make [it] fast,
Girding herself so as to tuck up her skirt,[4]
She ran up and down the Onan River,
Gathered wild pears and *moyilsun* [fruit],
And day and night nourished [their] gullets.
When Mother Üjin, which was born with gall,[5] [6r]
Nourished her fortunate sons,
Taking in hand a juniper stick,
She nourished [them] by digging the *sudun* [root] and the *čičigina* [root].
The sons which were nourished on the mountain shallot and shallot
By Üjin, the Mother,
Attained unto becoming *qad.*
The sons which were nourished on the *ja'uqasu* [root]
By the orderly Mother Üjin
Became wise men [which were] lawgivers.

§75 [6v] The *qa'uluqa*[6] sons
Which were nourished on wild shallot and shallot
By the beautiful Üjin
Became *qoyira'ud*[7] noblemen.
[After] becoming male noblemen,
They became bold and courageous.
Saying unto one another, "Let us nourish our mother," [7r]
Sitting on the bank of Mother Onan,[8]
Preparing for one another fishhooks,
Angling and hooking
Maimed and misshapen fishes,
Bending hooks out of needles,

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[4] See also §254 below.
[5] With the Mongols, as with the Chinese, the gall is the seat of courage.
[6] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[7] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[8] For the epithet "Mother" applied to the Onan River see also "Mother Earth" in §§113 and 255 and "Mother Sun" in §238 below.

Hooking *jebüge* [fishes] and *qadara* [fishes],
Tying nets,
Catching little fishes,
Moreover, they nourished the benefit of their mother.

§76 [7v] One day, while Temüǰin, Qasar, Begter, and Belgütei—[all] four—were sitting together [on the bank] and pulling a hook, a bright *soqosun* was come unto [it]. Both Begter and Belgütei wrested [it] from both Temüǰin and Qasar. When both Temüǰin and Qasar came [back] to the tent and spake unto Mother Üǰin, as they said, "We had a bright *soqosun* which had bitten the hook wrested from us by both brethren Begter and Belgütei," when Mother Üǰin spake, she said, "Cease [ye]. Why do ye brethren so unto one another? At the moment when we say,

'We have no companion other than [our] shadow;
We have no whip other than a tail.[9]

How [8v] shall we avenge the bitterness of our Tayiči'ud brethren?,' why are ye without accord [even] as formerly the five sons of Mother Alan? Do ye not that."

§77 [9r] Then when both Temüǰin and Qasar spake, not loving [the word of their mother],[10] having said, "One time, lately, they so wrested from [us] a lark which we had shot with a bone-tipped arrow. Now again they have so wrested [from us]. How can we live together?," casting aside the [felt] door [of the tent], they went out and departed. At the moment when Begter was sitting on a knoll, watching the nine horses, the isabella geldings, Temüǰin hiding from behind and Qasar hiding from in front, at the moment when they were drawing out their arrows and were arriving, when Begter, having seen [them], spake, having said, "At the moment when we, not being able to suffer the bitterness of the Tayiči'ud brethren, are saying, 'By whom shall we be able to take vengeance?,'[11] why cause ye me to become

[9] I. e., a tail of a horse. For this couplet see also §§77 and 78 below.
[10] See §85 below.
[11] See §78 below.

A lash in the eye;
An impediment in the mouth? [12]

In[asmuch as]

Ye have no companion other than [your] shadow;
Ye have no whip other than a tail,[13]

why have ye so thought? Destroy [ye] not my firepan! [14] Forsake [15] [ye] not Belgütei!," he sat down with his legs crossed and waited. Both Temüjin and Qasar shot him close by from in front and behind and [10v] then departed.

§78 [11r] With [their] coming into the tent, when Mother Üjin, perceiving the faces of her two sons, spake, saying, "[Ye] who have destroyed,

When he fiercely issued
From my hot [womb],
This one [16] was born holding
A black clot of blood
In his hand.[17]
[Even] as the Qasar [18] dog
Which biteth his own afterbirth; [19]
[Even] as the panther [11v]
Which rusheth at the cliff;
[Even] as the lion
Which is not able to repress his fury;
[Even] as the python
Which saith, 'I shall swallow [my prey] alive';
[Even] as the gerfalcon
Which rusheth at his own shadow;

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[12] I.e., "Why do you regard me as something which hinders you from seeing and from eating?"
[13] See note 8 above.
[14] I.e., "my hearth."
[15] I.e., "kill."
[16] I.e., Temüjin.
[17] See §59 above.
[18] I.e., Khazar.
[19] See also §244, where Hö'elün Üjin, in defense of Qasar, scolds Temüjin.

[Even] as the *čuraqa* [fish]
Which swalloweth in silence;
[Even] as the he camel
Which biteth the heel of his colt;
[Even] as the wolf
Which relieth upon the snow storm [to stalk his prey];[20]
[Even] as [12r] the mandarin duck
Which, because it is not able to overtake his chickens,
eateth his chickens;
[Even] as the jackal
Which, if one touch [him], maketh a league [with others] to
defend his den;
[Even] as the tiger,
Which, in seizing [his prey], doth not hesitate;
[Even] as the *barus*,[21]
Which rusheth foolishly [upon his prey],
[Ye] have destroyed!
At the moment when ye have no companion other than [your]
shadow;
At the moment when ye have no whip other than a tail,[22]

at the moment when ye are not able to suffer the bitterness of the Tayiči'ud brethren and at the moment when ye [12v] are saying, 'By whom shall we take vengeance?,' ye so do unto one another, saying, 'How shall we live?,'"

Citing
Ancient words;
Quoting
Old words,[23]

she was exceedingly displeased with her sons.

§79 [13r] Mean while Taryutai Kiriltuy of the Tayiči'ud, [13v] leading his companions, came, saying,

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[20] So as not to be seen.
[21] This word, not elsewhere attested, is glossed: "name of [a kind of] animal."
[22] See note 9 above.
[23] See §260.

"The wicked
Have molted.
The drivellers
Are grown up." [24]

Being afraid, mothers and sons, elder brethren and younger brethren made a fort in the thick forest. Belgütei, tearing trees asunder, built a fence. While Qasar was exchanging arrow shots, at the moment when they were thrusting Qači'un, Temüge, and Temülün—all three—between the clefts in a cliff and were battling, [14r] when the Tayiči'ud shouted and spake, it being shouted [by them], saying, "Send your elder brother Temüjin. [We] have no need of the others of you," the Tayiči'ud seeing that they had made Temüjin to set forth, making [him] to escape, and that he was fleeing to the woods, pursued [him], [but,] as he had slipped into the forest of Tergüne Heights, the Tayiči'ud, not being able to enter, watched round about the forest.

§80 [15r] Temüjin spent three nights within the forest and, saying, "I shall go out," at the moment when he was drawing nigh, leading his horse, his saddle loosed itself and remained behind. When he returned and looked, [he saw that] the saddle, although the breast strap was [yet] attached and the belly strap was [yet] buckled, had loosed itself and had remained behind. Saying, "As for the belly strap, let it be.[25] But how could the breast strap loose itself? [15v] Is Heaven staying [me]?," he returned and again spent three nights. Again, at the moment when he was drawing nigh to go out, at the outlet of the forest a white rock the size of a tent fell in the outlet, stopping [it]. Saying, "Is Heaven staying [me]?," he returned and again spent three nights. Again, having been without food nine nights, saying, "How shall I die without a name? I shall go out," round about that white rock the size of a tent, which was fallen, stopping [16r] the outlet, [Temüjin] having cut with his arrow-whittling knife the bushes [which

[24] I. e., "The sons of Mother Hö'elün are no longer infants and have already attained to a certain age."

[25] I. e., "The saddle could come off, taking the belly strap with it over the rump of the horse."

had grown so thick] that, if one had assayed to go out, he would not have been able,[26] and, having made his horse to slip through, with [his] going out—the Tayiči'ud were [yet] watching [the outlet]—they seized and took [him] away.

§81 [16v] Taryutai Kiriltuy, taking Temüjin away, giving an order [17r] unto his people, at the moment when he was rotating [him] in the [divers] *ayil*, making [him] to spend one night in each,[27] on the sixteenth of the first moon of summer,[28] the "red circle day,"[29] the Tayiči'ud feasted on the bank of the Onan [River] and, when the sun was set, they dispersed themselves. A weak lad had taken Temüjin unto that feast. Waiting until [17v] the people of the feast had dispersed themselves, [Temüjin] pulled the *buya'u* away from that weak lad, and, having smote his head once, running, saying [unto himself] that he would be seen, if he lay within the forest of the Onan [River], he lay in the stream of water and, suffering his cangue to flow down along the water, he lay [with only his] face exposed.

§82 [18r] At the moment when that person which had lost [him] was shouting with a loud voice, [18v] saying, "I have lost the prisoner!," the Tayiči'ud, which had dispersed themselves, assembled, and, in the moonlight [as bright] as day, they searched the forest of the Onan [River]. Even as Sorqan Šira of the Suldus was passing by, perceiving that [Temüjin] was lying in the stream, when he spake, having said, "Even because thou art so skilful, thou art so envied by thy [19r] Tayiči'ud brethren, saying,

'He hath fire in his eyes;
He hath light in his face.'[30]

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[26] See also §102 below.

[27] The practice of lodging prisoners in the tents of private persons in rotation was common among the Mongols.

[28] See also §§118 and 193 below.

[29] In the expression *hula'an tergel üdür* "red circle day," the meaning of *hula'an* "red" is not clear. The words *tergel üdür* were used of the fifteenth of any lunation, but, as we see from the *Secret History*, the words *hula'an tergel üdür* were used only of the sixteenth of the fourth lunation, an auspicious day. In both cases the word *tergel* may refer to the "disk" of the moon.

[30] See Chapter I, note 44.

Lie [thou] so. [I] shall not tell," he passed by. Again, at the moment when they were saying unto one another, 'Let us return and search [further],' when Sorqan Šira spake, he said, "Let us, having seen our places along our same divers ways, which we saw not [before], return and search [further]." "Yea," they said unto one another. While they returned and [19v] searched [further] along the same divers ways, again, when Sorqan Šira passed by and spake, having said, "Thy brethren are drawing nigh, sharpening their mouths and [their] teeth.[31] Lie [thou] so. Be prudent," he passed by.

§83 [20r] Again, at the moment when they were saying unto one another, "Let us return and search [further]," when Sorqan Šira spake, again he said, "Tayiči'ud Princes, ye have lost a whole man in the bright, white day. Now how shall we find [him] in the dark night? Again, let us, having seen our places which we have [20v] not seen along the same divers ways, being returned and having searched [further], dispersing ourselves, gather together to morrow and search [again]. Whither could he go, that man with a *buγa'u*?" Saying, "Yea," unto one another, they returned and searched and, when Sorqan Šira, again passing by, spake, having said, "They said unto one another, 'Let us, having searched, return and search [further] to morrow.' Now [21r] waiting until we have wholly dispersed ourselves, go, seeking thy mother and thy younger brethren. Talk not, saying that [thou] hast been seen—if [thou] art seen by somebody—saying that it was I who saw [thee]," he passed by.

§84 [21v] Waiting until they had wholly dispersed themselves, thinking in his heart, saying, "Lately, at the moment when, rotating [me in] the [divers] *ayil*, they made me to pass the night, when I passed the night in the tent of Sorqan Šira, [as for] his two sons, Čimbai and Čila'un, their bosoms and hearts pained [for me] and seeing me [22r] at night they took my *buγa'u* and, loosing it, suffered me to pass the night. Now, again, Sorqan Šira, seeing me, is passed by, not telling. Now those same will save me," he

[31] Like wild beasts which are about to kill and eat their prey. Cf. Psalm CXL §3: "They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent."

departed down along the Onan River, seeking the tent of Sorqan Šira.

§85 [22v] The sign of the tent was that, having poured off the [mare's] milch, they were wont to beat their sour [mare's] milch [32] at night until the day dawned. Hearing that sign, as he went, [23r] hearing the sound of the beater, he arrived and, as he entered into his tent, Sorqan Šira said, "Said I not, 'Go [thou], seeking thy mother and thy younger brethren?' Why art thou come [hither]?" When his two sons Čimbai and Čila'un spake, saying, "If a *turumtai* [33] make a little bird to take refuge in a bush, the bush saveth it. Now why sayest thou so unto that one which is come unto us?," not loving the word [23v] of their father [34] they removed his *buγa'u*, burned [it] in the fire, made him to get him up into a cart full of wool behind [the tents], and made their younger sister named Qada'an to care for [him], saying, "Tell [this] not unto [any] living person."

§86 [24r] On the third day [the Tayiči'ud] said unto one another, "[Some] man hath, perhaps, hid [him]," and, saying unto one another, [24v] "Let us search one another among ourselves," they searched one another. They searched in the tents, in the carts, and even under the beds of Sorqan Šira and, at the moment when, getting them up into the cart full of wool behind [the tents], pulling out the wool which was at the entry, they were arriving at the back, [25r] as Sorqan Šira then said, "How could this one bear [it], in such heat, within the wool?," the searchers lighted and departed.

§87 After that the searchers were departed, when Sorqan Šira spake, he said, "[Thou] almost caused [25v] me to blow [in the wind] as the ashes [of my hearth]. Go [thou] now to seek thy mother and thy younger brethren," made [him] to ride a barren, straw-yellow [35] [mare] of which the mouth [was] white, boiled [for him] a lamb which had been suckled of two ewes,[36] made ready a little

[32] I. e., kumiss.

[33] The name of a small bird of prey.

[34] See §77 above.

[35] Which further implies "with a black mane and a black stripe on the backbone." See Chapter I, note 18. See also §§88, 95, and 205 below.

[36] Such a lamb, having sucked more milk, would be stronger. See also §93 below.

leathern bucket and a big leathern bucket [full of mare's milch], not giving [unto him] a saddle and not giving [unto him] a fire-sickle,[37] gave [unto him] a bow and gave [unto him] two arrows.[38] Making ready so much as that he sent [him on his way].

§88 [26r] Temüǰin, being so gone, arrived at his place which they had fortified by making a fence. By means of the tracks in the grass, he trailed [them] up along the Onan [26v] River—the Kimurya Stream entereth [the Onan River] from the West—and, having trailed up along that, he encountered [them], at the moment when they were at Qorčuqui Hill of the Beder Spur of the Kimurya Stream.

§89 [27r] Uniting themselves there, they departed. Camping [at] Köke Lake[39] of [Mount] Qara J̌irügen of the Senggür Stream within [Mount] Gürelgü in front of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, they killed and ate marmots and field mice.

§90 [27v] One day [thieves] came to steal the eight horses, the isabella geldings, which were standing in front of the tent. Before the eyes [of Temüǰin and his younger brethren], they stole [them] and departed. [Temüǰin and his younger brethren,] being on foot, while seeing [them depart], remained behind. Belgütei had ridden [28r] a *dargi*,[40] strawyellow [horse] with a hairless tail and was gone for to hunt marmots. At eventide, after that the sun was set, Belgütei, having laid the marmots on the *dargi*, strawyellow [horse] with a hairless tail, came [back], leading [it] on foot, so that they swung to and fro.[41] As they said, " [Thieves] stole the isabella geldings and took [them] away," when Belgütei spake, he said, " I shall pursue [them]." When [28v] Qasar spake, he said, " Thou canst not. I shall pursue [them]." When Temüǰin spake, saying,

[37] I. e., a sickle-shaped piece of steel enveloped in leather used for striking a spark to ignite tinder.

[38] To force him immediately to return to his mother he gives him a horse without a saddle, no fire-sickle with which he could stop to cook food, and two arrows only for self-defense.

[39] I. e., " Blue Lake."

[40] This word, not glossed, may be the same as the Ordos *t'argi* " court (poils, herbe), peu profond (eau)." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome deuxième (J-Ž), The Catholic University—Peking, 1942, p. 647a.

[41] I. e., from the gait of the horse.

"Ye can not. I shall pursue [them]," Temüjin rode the *dargi*, strawyellow [horse] and trailed the isabella geldings by means of the tracks in the grass. Having passed three nights, early in the morning [of the fourth day], he encountered on the way a lively lad which was milking [29r] mares in a plentiful herd. As he inquired concerning the isabella geldings, when that lad spake, having said, "This morning, before that the sun rose, [the thieves] drave the eight horses, the isabella geldings, this way and departed. I shall point out their tracks for [thee]," he made [Temüjin] to loose the strawyellow [horse] with the hairless tail and, [giving it] unto Temüjin, made [him] to ride a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone.[42] [29v] He himself rode a swift dun. And, not even going unto his tent, he put away his leathern bucket and leathern milkpail, concealing [them] in the steppe. Having said, "As for thee, companion, [thou] comest hither, being sore distressed. The distress of men is [all] one [and the same]. I shall be a companion unto thee. My father is called Naqu Bayan.[43] I [am] his only son. I am [30r] named Bo'orču," he trailed [them] by [means of] the tracks of the isabella geldings. Having passed three nights, at even [of the fourth day], at the moment when the sun was smiting the hills, they arrived at a *güri'en* of people. They saw the eight horses, the isabella geldings, which were standing, eating grass at the edge of that great *güri'en*. When Temüjin spake, he said, "Companion, stand thou here. [30v] I—the isabella geldings are those [there]—shall go out, driving [them before me]." When Bo'orču spake, having said, "I am come, saying, 'I shall be a companion.' How can I stand here?," having rushed into [the *güri'en*] together, they drave out the isabella geldings.[44]

§91 [32r] The people, one after another, draw nigh, pursuing after [them]. One man with a white horse, holding a pole with a noose, alone overtaking [them], draweth nigh. When Bo'orču spake, he said, "Companion, bring me the bow and arrow. I shall exchange arrow shots with him." When Temüjin spake,

[42] See Chapter I, note 18.
[43] I. e., Naqu "The Rich."
[44] See also §205 below.

saying, " I fear lest thou be harmed for my sake. I shall exchange arrow shots with him," returning over against [him], he exchanged arrow shots with him. [32v] That man with the white horse stood aiming at [him] with his pole with a noose. [His] companions behind came, overtaking [him]. The sun set. Twilight draweth nigh. Those people behind, being lost in the dusk, halted and remained behind.[45]

§92 [33r] Having ridden that night, after riding three days and three nights, they arrived. When Temüjin spake, he said, " Companion, could I have [33v] taken these my horses without thee? Let us divide [them] between us. How many sayest [thou] that thou shalt take? " When Bo'orču spake, he said, " I, saying that thou, good companion, drawest nigh, being distressed, I am come, being a companion, saying, ' I shall be a help unto a good companion.' Shall I take [them], saying, ' It is spoil '? My father is named Naqu Bayan.[46] The only son of Naqu Bayan is I. [34r] That which my father hath laid up [for me] is enough for me. I shall not take [aught]. That I have been a help, what help is it? I shall not take [aught]."

§93 [34v] They arrived at the tent of Naqu Bayan. Naqu Bayan, having lost Bo'orču, his son, is in tears. When suddenly they are come and he seeth his son, once he waileth and once he groaneth. When Bo'orču, his son, spake, having said, " What is it? A good companion [35r] is come hither, being distressed. I went, being a companion [unto him]. Now I am come," he galloped away and fetched his leathern bucket and leathern milkpail which he had concealed in the steppe. Killing for Temüjin a lamb which had been suckled of two ewes and having given [it unto him as] provision [for the way], he made ready a leathern bucket [full of milk] as lading and [so] made [him] to have provision. When Naqu Bayan spake, [35v] he said, " Ye are two youths. See [ye] each other. Abandon [ye] not each other hereafter." Temüjin went and, being departed three days, arrived at his tent at the

[45] This episode is treated in this impressionistic way, because the battle was not joined and contact was broken.

[46] I. e., Naqu " The Rich." See note 43 above.

Senggür Stream. Mother Hö'elün and his younger brother, Qasar, and the others, were troubled, [but,] upon seeing [him], they did rejoice.

§94 [36r] Thereupon, both Temüǰin and Belgütei—[Temüǰin,] since the time when he was come [back], after having, at the moment when he was nine years old, seen Börte Üǰin [daughter] of Dei Sečen, had been separated [from her] [47]—went up along the Kelüren River to seek [her]. Dei Sečen, the Unggira[d], was there between both [Mount] Čegčer and [Mount] Čiqurqu. When Dei Sečen, seeing Temüǰin and rejoicing exceedingly, spake, having said, "Knowing that [37r] thy Tayiči'ud brethren are jealous, being very troubled, [I] had lost hope. And now [I] have hardly seen thee," having united Börte Üǰin [with him], he accompanied [her]. When, accompanying [her], he drew nigh, Dei Sečen, on the way, returned from the Uraγ Čöl corner of the Kelüren. His wife, the mother of Börte Üǰin, was named Čotan. Čotan accompanied her daughter and, at the moment when they [48] were at the Senggür Stream [37v] within [Mount] Gürelgü, came, bringing [her].

§95 [38r] Having suffered Čotan to return, [Temüǰin] sent Belgütei, inviting Bo'orču, saying, "Let us be companions." Bo'orču, after that Belgütei was arrived, not telling [it] unto his father,

> Having ridden a strawyellow [horse] with a curved back,
> Having tied behind the saddle his gray mantle of felt,[49]

came with Belgütei. [38v] From the time when they were become companions, such [was] the manner in which they were companions.[50]

§96 Journeying from the Senggür Stream, they pitched, encamping at the Bürgi [39r] Escarpment, [at] the head of the Kelüren River. Saying [that it was] the *šidkül* [51] of the mother [in law Hö'-

[47] See §§65, 66 above.
[48] I. e., Temüǰin's people.
[49] See §205 below.
[50] See also §205 below.
[51] For the translation of the gloss on this word cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [32]: "gift offered to the father and to the mother of the husband when [the new daughter-in-law] presents herself before them."

elün] Čotan had brought a coat of black sables. Temüǰin, Qasar, and Belgütei—all three—took away that coat.—In days of old Ong Qan of the Kereyid people had declared himself *anda* with [their] father Yesügei Qan.[52]—[Temüǰin,] saying, " As for the fact that he declared himself *anda* with my father, he is like [39v] a father," went, knowing that Ong Qan was in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River]. When Temüǰin, coming unto Ong Qan, spake, he said, " Saying [unto myself] that in days of old thou didst declare thyself *anda* with my father and that thou art also like a father, having made a wife to light [at my tent], I have brought the *emüsgel*[53] for thee," he gave the coat of black sables [unto him]. When [40r] Ong Qan rejoiced exceedingly and spake, he said,

" In return for the coat of black sables
I shall collect for thee
Thy people which have separated themselves.[54]
In return for the coat of sables
I shall gather for thee
Thy people which have dispersed themselves.

Let [my promise] be

In the back
Of [my] kidneys,
In the diaphragm
Of [my] breast." [55]

§97 [41r] Returning from thence, when they were at the Bürgi Escarpment, a person of the Uriangqad, Old Man J̌arči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back, came from [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, leading his son named J̌elme. When J̌arči'udai [41v] spake, saying, " At the moment when [ye] were at Deli'ün Hill of the Onan [River] and at the moment when Temüǰin was born,[56] I gave [unto him] swaddling clothes of sable. I also gave this my son J̌elme. Saying, ' [He is] little,' I took [him] away. Now, J̌elme

[52] See §150 below for the narration of this event.
[53] The text erroneously has *emüsgeg*. The word is a synonym of *šidkül*. See note 51 above.
[54] See also §§ 104 and 208 below.
[55] See also §104 below.
[56] See § 59 above.

Make [thou] to lay thy saddle;
Make [thou] to open thy door,"

he gave [J̌elme unto Temüǰin].[57]

§98 [42r] At the moment when they were pitching at the Bürgi Escarpment, at the head of the Kelüren River, one morning, early, the light [being yet] yellow, at the moment when day was dawning, when Old Woman Qo'aγčin which served within the tent of Mother [42v] Hö'elün rose up and spake, she said, "Mother, Mother! Rise up quickly! The earth quaketh! A rumbling is heard! Are the frightful Tayiči'ud drawing nigh? Mother! Rise up quickly!"

§99 [43r] When Mother Hö'elün spake, having said, "Wake [ye] quickly the sons," Mother Hö'elün also quickly rose up. The sons, Temüǰin and the others, also being quickly risen up, taking their horses, Temüǰin rode one horse. Mother Hö'elün rode one horse. Qasar rode one horse. Qači'un rode [43v] one horse. Temüge Odčigin rode one horse. Belgütei rode one horse. Bo'orču rode one horse. J̌elme rode one horse. Mother Hö'elün carried Temülün at her bosom [on her horse]. They made ready one horse as a led horse. A horse was wanting for Börte Üǰin.[58]

§100 [44r] Temüǰin and [his] brethren set forth, while it was [yet] early, and went out toward [Mount] Burqan. Old Woman Qo'aγčin, saying, "I shall hide Börte Üǰin,"

Making her to ride in a [44v] *böken*,[59] black cart,
Harnessed [to it] an ox speckled of loins.[60]

At the moment when, removing up along the Tenggeli[g] Stream, they were going forward and, in the twilight, at the moment when the day was dawning, from over against [them] soldiers, trotting, going round about, arrived and asked, saying, "What [manner of]

[57] See also §211 below.

[58] This episode may be compared with that in §57 above, in which Hö'elün Üǰin is abandoned by her husband Čiledü in a similarly precipitate manner.

[59] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

[60] I. e., with a white spot on the lumbar region and with large black spots on the loins. See also §101 below.

person [art] thou?" When Old Woman Qo'aγčin [45r] spake, she said, "I am of [the house of] Temüǰin. I am come for to shear the sheep at the great tent.[61] I am returning to my tent." Thereupon, when they spake, they said, "Is Temüǰin at the tent? How far is the tent?" When Old Woman Qo'aγčin spake, she said, "As for the tent, it is near. I did not perceive whether Temüǰin was [there] or not. [45v] Being arisen from behind [the tent], I am come [hither]."

§101 [46r] Those soldiers then trotted [away]. Old Woman Qo'aγčin having struck her ox speckled of loins,[62] as, hasting, she began to move forward, the axletree of the cart brake in pieces. At the moment when they were saying unto each other, "[Forasmuch as] our axletree hath been broken in pieces, let us run into the woods on foot," straightway the same soldiers, making the mother of Belgütei to ride double with them and making her two feet to hang, trotting, being arrived, said, "What art thou carrying in this cart?" When Old Woman Qo'aγčin spake, she said, "I am carrying wool." When the elder brethren of those soldiers spake, they said unto their younger brethren and sons, "Light off and see [ye what it is]!" The younger brethren and sons lighted off and, with their taking [away] the door of the *qa'atai*[63] cart, [they found that] a woman was sitting within; Pulling her from the cart, making her to light off, having made both [her and] Qo'aγčin to ride double, they trailed after Temüǰin by the tracks in the grass and [47r] went out toward [Mount] Burqan.

§102 [48r] Going thrice round about [Mount] Burqan Qaldun after Temüǰin, they were not able to seize [him].[64] As they swerved this way and that—its miry bottoms where one is swallowed up and [its] difficult woods [are] a forest [so] difficult that, if a glutted serpent were [to assay] to creep [into it], he would not be able[65]—

[61] I.e., the tent of Temüǰin.

[62] See note 60 above.

[63] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

[64] See also §§111 and 205.

[65] For another example of the same figure used of the Alan capital taken by the Mongols in 1239 cf. V. MINORSKY, "Caucasica III: The Alān Capital Magas and the

although they followed after him, they were not able to seize [Temüǰin]. [48v] Those were the Three Merkid. Toγto'a of the Uduyid Merkid, Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, and Qa'atai Darmala of the Qa'ad Merkid—these Three Merkid—were now come to avenge that avengement, saying, "Mother Hö'elün of old was taken from Čiledü." When those Merkid spake unto one another, they said unto one another, [49r] "Now we have taken their wives to take the vengeance of Hö'elün. We have taken our vengeance," they descended from [Mount] Burqan Qaldun and returned to their abodes.

§103 [49v] Saying, "Are these Three Merkid truly returned unto their abodes or are they lying in ambush?," Temüǰin made Belgütei, Bo'orču, and J̌elme—all three—to follow behind the [50r] Merkid three days to spy and [so] he suffered the Merkid to go far away. When Temüǰin, descending from on [Mount] Burqan, striking his breast, spake, saying, "Mother Qo'aγčin,

Because she heareth
Like a weasel,
Because she seeth
Like an ermine,
Escaping as to mine own body,
With a horse hobbled by [means of] the tether,
Walking in the paths of the deer,
Making an abode of a tent of [50v] elm twigs,
I went up on [Mount] Burqan.

By [Mount] Burqan Qaldun,
As to my life [which is only] so much as a louse,
I escaped.
Sparing
Mine only life,
With an only horse,

Mongol Campaigns," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952). 221-238, where, in the citation of Dr. J. A. BOYLE's translation of a passage from the Persian historian J̌uwainī, we read (pp. 222-223): "the inhabitants of which were as [223] numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests, such that even a serpent could not penetrate them."

Walking in the paths of the elk,
Making an abode of a tent of willow switches,
I went up on [Mount] Qaldun.
By [Mount] Qaldun Burqan,[66]
As to my life [which is only] so much as a grasshopper,
[51r]
I was shielded.

I was caused to be sore afraid. Every morning I shall sacrifice unto [Mount] Burqan. Every day I shall pray unto [it]. Let the seed of my seed observe [this]," over against the sun he hanged his girdle on his neck, hanged his hat in his hand,[67] struck his hand into his breast, and, kneeling nine times toward the sun, offered a sprinkling [of mare's milk] and a prayer.

[66] See also §112 below for another instance in which we have an inversion of the more usual *Burqan Qaldun*.

[67] For another reference to the girdle and the hat, symbols of power and authority respectively, see §244 below. For a reference to the hat alone see §255 below.

Chapter III

§104 [1r] So saying, when [Temüjin], Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütei—[all] three—going unto To'oril Ong Qan of the Kereyid, at the moment when he was in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula River, spake, he said, " By the Three Merkid, as they were come at the moment when we were unprepared, my wife was ravished and carried away. We are come, saying, ' Let my father the Qan [1v] save and give [unto me my] wife.' " In answer to that word, when To'oril Ong Qan spake, he said, " Spake not I unto thee a year ago? When thou broughtest a coat of sables unto me, when I was clothed [with it by thee], saying, ' As for the fact that [thou] didst declare thyself *anda* of the time of [my] father,[1] [thou] art also like a father,' then, when I spake, saying,

' In return for the coat of sables [2r]
I shall gather for thee
Thy people which hath dispersed itself.

In return for the coat of black sables
I shall unite for thee
Thy people which hath separated itself,'

said I not,

' Let [my promise] be
In the diaphragm
Of [my] breast?

Let [my promise] be
In the back
Of [my] kidneys? '[2]

Now, keeping to that my word,

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[1] See §150 below. See also §96 above.
[2] See §96 above.

In return for the coat of sables,
[Even] until I destroy
Wholly the Merkid,
I shall save and give [unto thee] thy Börte Üjin. [2v]
In return for the coat of black sables,
Breaking
All the Merkid,
Making thy *Qatun* Börte to return, we shall bring [her].

Send thou, sending a message, unto Younger Brother J̌amuγa. Younger Brother J̌amuγa is in the Qorqonaγ Valley. I shall set forth from hence, twenty thousand [in number], becoming the right hand. Let Younger Brother J̌amuγa, being twenty thousand [in number], set forth, becoming the left hand. Let [3r] our appointed time be [decided] from [the part of] J̌amuγa."

§105 [3v] When, Temüjin, Qasar, and Belgütei—[all] three—returning from To'oril Qan, arriving at their tent, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei unto J̌amuγa, when he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak unto *Anda* J̌amuγa," he sent, saying, "By the [4r] Three Merkid, when they came,

As to my bed,
I was made to be empty.
Are we not ones of which the family origin [is] one?
How shall we avenge
Our avengement? [3]

As to my breast,
I have been rent in twain.
Are we not kindred of liver? [4]
How shall we requite
Our requital?" [5]

Such [was] the word whereby he sent speaking unto *Anda*

[3] See Chapter I, note 41.
[4] The liver denotes intimacy and close relationship.
[5] See Chapter I, note 41.

J̌amuγa. Again, when he sent, speaking unto J̌amuγa the words which had been spoken by [4v] To'oril Qan of the Kereyid, he said, "Mindful of the fact that in an early day a help and good things were done for my father by Yesügei Qan, I shall be a companion. Being twenty thousand [in number], I shall set forth, being the right hand. Send, telling [it] unto Younger Brother J̌amuγa. Let Younger Brother J̌amuγa set forth, [being] twenty thousand [in number]. Let our appointed time when we shall join forces be [decided] from [the part of] Younger Brother [5r] J̌amuγa." After that they had made an end of these words, when J̌amuγa spake, he said, "Knowing that *Anda* Temüǰin,

As to [his] bed,
Was become empty,
My heart did pain.

Knowing that,

As to [his] breast,
He had been rent in twain,
My liver did pain.

Avenging our avengement,
Destroying
The Uduyid and
Uuas Merkid,
We shall save our Üǰin Börte.[6] [5v]

Taking our vengeance,
Breaking all the Qa'ad Merkid,
Making our *Qatun* Börte to return, we shall save [her].

Now that

Toγto'a which trembleth,
At the moment when one striketh a shabrack,
Taking [this noise] for the sound of a drum,
Must be in the Bu'ura Steppe.

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[6] In *Üǰin Börte*, an inversion of the usual *Börte Üǰin*, *Üǰin* is placed first for the purpose of alliteration.

Dayir Usun, which,
At the moment when a quiver with a cover
Rattleth,[7]
Revolteth,
Must now be at [6r] Talqun Isle [between] [8]
both the Orqon and the Selengge.

Qa'atai Darmala, which,
At the moment when the [uprooted] tumbleweed [9] bloweth
[across the steppe] in the wind,
Striveth for the Black Forest,
Must now be in the Qaraji Steppe.

Now, straightly,[10] cutting the Kilyo River—let the *saqal bayan* [11] be in good state—tying [with them] rafts, we shall enter [into the land of the enemy]. Of that Toγto'a which trembleth,

Entering [as one might say] upon the hole at the
top of his tent [6v]
Smiting his weighty tent frame
In such a way that it shall fall down flat,
We shall destroy
Until his wives and sons be extinguished.

Smiting his door frame, which [for him] is a god
which bringeth happiness,[12]
In such a way that it shall break to pieces,

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[7] Cf. Job 39 §23: The quiver rattleth against him, ..." See also §230 below.

[8] For this restoration, cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [43], n. 42.

[9] I. e., *salsula oppositifolia*. Cf. G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935, p. 164b.

[10] I. e., by the shortest route.

[11] Lit., "beard rich." For this plant name cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [45], n. 43.

[12] "The association of the *qutuγ* (*fu shen*) 'god conferring happiness' with the frame of the door is explained perhaps by the custom mentioned by Iohannes de Plano Carpini in his *Ystoria Mongalorum*: 'Habent ydola quedam de filtro ad ymaginem hominis facta, et illa ponunt ex utraque parte hostii stationis' (A. Van Den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. I, p. 86)." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [47]. See also § 231 below.

We shall wholly destroy his people,
Until there be [only] emptiness [there].

§106 [7v] When Jamuγa again spake, when he spake, saying, "Speak [this] unto both *Anda* Temüjin and Elder Brother To'oril Qan," he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak, saying, 'As for me,

I have sprinkled [13] my standard visible from afar.
I have beaten my drum with a voice which is rumbling,
covered with the skin of a black bull.
I have gat me up upon my black courser.
I have put on my raiment hard as steel.
I [8r] have taken in hand my steel lance.
I have placed on the bowstring mine arrow garnished
with peach bark.
I shall set forth
Against the Qa'ad Merkid in battle.'

Speak, then, saying,

'I have sprinkled my long standard visible from afar.
I have beaten my drum with a hollow voice, covered with
the hide of an ox.
I have gat me up upon my courser with a black stripe along
the backbone.[14]
I have put on my breastplate with thongs.[15]
I have taken in hand my sword [8v] with a hilt.
I have placed on the bowstring mine arrow with a notch.
Let us die together [in fighting]
Against the Uduyid Merkid.'

When Elder Brother To'oril Qan shall set forth, having passed by *Anda* Temüjin by the front of [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, [upon his] coming, we shall meet at Botoγan Bo'orji at the head of the Onan River. [9r] When [I] shall set forth from hence, up along

[13] See also §193 below for another example of this ceremony performed, on the eve of battle, with mare's milk.

[14] See Chapter I, note 18.

[15] I. e., the slender thongs which hold together the various parts of the breastplate of leather.

the Onan River—the people of the *anda* are here, [taking] from the people of the *anda* ten thousand, I from hence ten thousand, [this] being twenty thousand—going up along the Onan River, we shall unite forces at the appointed place of meeting in Botoγan Bo'orǰi.' "

§107 [9v] Both Qasar and Belgütei coming [back] and speaking unto Temüǰin these words of J̌amuγa, [10r] he sent a message unto To'oril Qan. To'oril Qan, having suffered [him] to send these words of J̌amuγa, set forth, twenty thousand [in number]. When To'oril Qan set forth, [Temüǰin,] saying, " He draweth nigh, betaking himself [unto] the Bürgi Escarpment of the Kelüren, in front of Burqan Qaldun,"—Temüǰin was at the Bürgi Escarpment —and saying, " [I] am on the way," removing, journeying up along the Tünggelig [Stream], pitched at the Tana Stream, in front of [10v] Burqan Qaldun. Temüǰin, moving [his] troops from thence, at the moment when To'oril Qan, ten thousand [in number], and J̌aqa Gambu, the younger brother of To'oril Qan, ten thousand [in number], with twenty thousand [in all], were pitching at Ayil Qaraγana of the Kimurγa Stream, pitched, uniting [forces with them].

§108 [11v] Temüǰin, To'oril Qan, and J̌aqa Gambu—[all] three—, uniting, removing from thence, as they arrived at Botoγan Bo'orǰi [at] the head of the Onan [River], J̌amuγa was [already] arrived three days before at the appointed place of meeting. J̌amuγa, having seen the troops of these, Temüǰin, To'oril, and J̌aqa Gambu, J̌amuγa stood, [12r] making ready his twenty thousand troops. And these Temüǰin, To'oril Qan, and J̌aqa Gambu having likewise made ready their troops, coming unto one another and, moreover, recognizing one another, when J̌amuγa spake, he said, " Said we not unto one another, ' Let us not be late

At the appointed place of meeting,
Even though there be a snowstorm?

At the assembly,
Even though there be rain? '

[12v] Are not the Mongγol ones which have an oath [pronounced only with the word] "yea"?[16] We said unto one another,

'Let us expel out of [our] ranks
The one which shall be fallen behind from [his]
"yea."'"[17]

At the word of J̌amuγa, when To'oril Qan spake, saying, "[We] stood three days late at the appointed place of meeting," he said, "Let Younger Brother J̌amuγa decide [how] he shall punish and [how] he shall blame." Thus speaking unto each other [words of] blame [in respect] of the appointed place of meeting,

§109 [13v] removing from Botoγan Bo'orǰin, arriving at the Kilγo River, tying rafts, having passed over [the River], in the Bu'ura Steppe, of Toγto'a Beki,

Entering [as one might say] from upon the hole at the top of the tent,
Smiting the weighty tent frame
In such a way that it is fallen down flat,
They spoiled until his wives and sons were extinguished.

Smiting his door frame, which [for him] was a god which brought good luck,
In such a way that it brake to pieces,
They wholly spoiled his people, [14r]
Until they were emptied.

While Toγto'a Beki was lying down,[18] the fishermen, the hunters of sables, and the hunters of wild beasts which were at the Kilγo River, travelling all night, went, bringing the message that [the enemies] were arriving, saying, "The enemies which have hurled themselves forward draw nigh." Having received that message, Toγto'a and Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, both joining [unto each other], [14v] entering Baryuǰin along the Selengge [River], few [in number] and with [nothing other than their] bodies, escaped by fleeing away.

[16] I. e., an oral promise which takes the place of an oath. See also § 255 below.
[17] I. e., "who shall have failed to keep his promise." See also § 255 below.
[18] I. e., "while he was asleep."

§110 [15r] At the moment when the people of the Merkid were going, fleeing in haste at night along the Selengge, at the moment when our soldiers likewise were pressing forward at night and were spoiling and ravishing the Merkid which were going, fleeing in haste, and, at the moment when Temüjin, in [the midst of] the people which went forward, fleeing in haste, was going, crying, saying, "Börte, Börte!," encountering [her], [15v] Börte Üjin was among those people which were fleeing in haste. Hearing and recognizing the voice of Temüjin, being alighted from the cart, coming, running [unto him], both Börte Üjin and Qo'aγčin in the night recognized and seized the reins and tether of Temüjn. There was moonlight. When [Temüjin] looked, recognizing Börte Üjin, they threw themselves upon each other in embracing each other. [16r] Thereupon, when Temüjin sent, then, speaking the same night unto both To'oril Qan and *Anda* Jamuγa, he sent, saying, "I have found my necessity which I sought. Let us not travel all night. Let us pitch here." The Merkid people, [while] fleeing in haste they went forward and while, in the night, they went forward, dispersing themselves, pitching even there [19] passed [there] the night. Such [was] the manner in which [Temüjin] so encountered [16v] Börte Üjin and [in which] he saved [her from] the Merkid people.

§111 [17r] In the beginning, beforetime, Toγto'a Beki of the Uduyid Merkid, Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid, and Qa'atai Darmala [of the Qa'ad Merkid]—these Three [17v] Merkid—[with] three hundred men, saying, "Early of day Mother Hö'elün was ravished by Yesügei Ba'atur from Yeke Čiledü,[20] the younger brother of Toγto'a Beki," went, avenging and requiting that.[21] At the moment when they made Temüjin to go thrice round about [Mount] Burqan Qaldun, they seized Börte Üjin there and made her to be cared for by [18r] Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. As he had been caring for [her] since that time, when Čilger Bökö, revolting, went out and when he spake, having said,

[19] I.e., at the same place where Temüjin had stopped to pass the night. The Merkid were unwilling to continue their flight, because they saw that to do so served no purpose.

[20] See §§54-56 above.

[21] I.e., the rape of Hö'elün.

" While the black crow
Hath [it] as destiny to eat scraps of skin,
He hath hoped, saying, ' I shall eat goose and crane.'
I, *qatar* [22] and bad Čilger,
Laying hand
Upon the lady Üjin,
[Am become] a plague unto all the Merkid.
[I] [18v] commoner and bad Čilger,
Am at the point to be attained unto [23] my black head.[24]

Saving mine only life,
I shall slip into the dark defiles.
By whom shall [the office of] shield be done for me?

While the bad bird, the buzzard,
Hath [it] as destiny to eat rats and mice,
He hath hoped, saying, ' I shall eat swan and crane.'
I, *qunar* [25] and bad [19r] Čilger,
In gathering the happy and fortunate Üjin,
Am become a plague unto all the Merkid.

[I] *qokir* [26] and bad Čilger,
Am at the point to be attained unto [27] my withered head.
Saving my life [which is only] so much as [a piece of]
sheep's dung
I shall slip into the *qaratu* [28] and dark defiles.
For my life [which is only] so much as [a piece of]
sheep's dung [19v]
By whom shall [the office of] fenced place be done for me?,"

revolting, he escaped.

[22] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[23] I.e., to lose.
[24] See §21 above, where the term "black heads" means "commoners." See also §123 below for another occurrence of the term.
[25] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[26] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[27] I.e., to lose.
[28] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

§112 [20r] They seized Qa'atai Darmala.

Bringing [him], making [him] to wear a board *buγa'u*,
They made [him] to betake himself unto [Mount] Qaldun Burqan.[29]

It being shewed [by somebody], saying, "The mother of Belgütei is in that *ayil*," [20v] Belgütei going for to take his mother, with Belgütei's entering into her tent by the right door, his mother—[clothed] with a raiment of tattered sheepskins—being gone out by the left door, when she spake unto another person outside, having said, "I am told that my sons are become *qad*. Being joined here unto a bad man, now how shall I behold the faces [21r] of my sons?," she ran and slipped into the thick woods. So he sought [her, but] she was not found. Belgütei Noyan, saying, "Bring [thou unto me] my mother!," shot with *γodoli*[30] [arrows] any person which was but of the Merkid "bone."[31] He made an end of the Three Hundred Merkid which were gone round about [Mount] Burqan [Qaldun],[32] [21v] unto the seed of the seed, till they blew [away] as the ashes [of the hearth]. [As for those] of their wives which remained, he embraced in his bosom[33] [those which were] such as one might embrace in the bosom. He made to enter into his door [as slaves those which were] such as might be made to enter into the door [as slaves].

§113 [22v] When Temüjin, being thankful unto both To'oril Qan and Jamuγa, spake, he said [unto them], "Being made a companion by both my father the Qan and *Anda* Jamuγa, [my] might being increased by Heaven and Earth,[34]

Being named by powerful Heaven,
Effecting [this] by Mother Earth—
The male hath [taken his] vengeance—
and, as for the Merkid people,
[We] have made their breasts to become empty.
And we have broken off [a piece of] their [23r] liver.

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[29] See Chapter II, note 66.
[30] An arrow without a point, which does not wound.
[31] I. e., tribe.
[32] See §102 above.
[33] I. e., "took to wife."
[34] See also §§199, 208, and 260 below.

And we have made their beds to become empty.
And we have made an end of
The men of [their] descendants.
And we have ravished [those of the women] of them
which remained.

The Merkid people being so dispersed, let us withdraw ourselves."

§114 [23v] When the Uduyid Merkid hasted away, our soldiers finding and bringing a boy [clothed] with a hat of sable, with boots [made] of the skin of the legs of the doe, with raiment [made] of the skins of the water sable which had been stripped of their hairs [35] and sewed together, [a boy] five years old, named Küčü, with fire in his eyes,[36] [one] which had remained behind in the encampment, taking [him] away, gave [him] unto Mother Hö'elün as a *sauγa*.[37]

§115 [24v] When Temüjin, To'oril Qan, and J̌amuγa—[all] three—uniting, of the Merkid,

Overthrowing the *čorqan* [38] tents,
Ravishing the glorious [39] women,

withdrew from Talqun Isle of both the Orqan [40] and the Selengge, both Temüjin and J̌amuγa, uniting, [25r] withdrew, betaking themselves unto the Qorqonaγ Valley. When To'oril Qan withdrew, passing by Hökörtü Valley by the back of Burqan Qaldun, passing by Qača'uratu Subčid and Huliyatu Subčid, having

[35] For a discussion of the words *ičikin jaryaγ*, in which *ičikin* is an error for *ilkin*, cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Remarques sur le paragraphe 114 de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*," *Central Asiatic Journal* 2 (1956) .1-11.

[36] See Chapter I, note 44.

[37] I. e., gift.

[38] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. In §124 below, however, there is found the expression *čo'oryatai tergen-i* (acc.) "the cart having a lock." It may, therefore, be that *čorqan* = *čŏryan* < *čo'oryan* "lock." If so, the expression *čorqan ger* in this passage may mean "lock-tents," i. e., "tents with locks."

[39] The word *čoγtai* "having glory" is glossed 罟姑 (*ku-ku*), a term used during the Yüan dynasty to designate a kind of headgear worn by Mongolian women of mark. It is evident from the word 好 (*hao*) ("good," i. e., "of mark") in the continuous translation (*YCPS* 3.25r5) that *čoγtai* was so glossed, because only women of mark wore the *ku-ku* which, in fact, characterized such women.

[40] *Orqan* is an older form of *Orqon*.

hunted their wild beasts, he withdrew, betaking himself unto the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River].

§116 [25v] Both Temüǰin and J̌amuγa, joining forces, pitched at Qorqonaγ Valley and, being together mindful of the fact that they were formerly together become *anda*, renewing unto each other their [state of] *anda*, said unto each other, "Let us love each other." The first time, when they were together become *anda*, at the moment when Temüǰin was eleven years old, J̌amuγa giving unto Temüǰin a roebuck knucklebone—Temüǰin's brass knucklebone [being given unto J̌amuγa]—together becoming *anda*, at the moment when they were playing at knucklebone on the ice of the Onan [River] where they had declared themselves *anda*, then they declared themselves *anda*. [26v] After that, in the spring, at the moment when they were shooting together with [their] bows of wood, J̌amuγa, gluing [together] the [four halves of] two horns of a calf of two years old and boring holes, giving unto Temüǰin his sounding *yor* [41] [made of the horns] and [with] Temüǰin's exchanging a *γodoli* arrow with a tip of cypress wood, they together became *anda*. Such [was] the manner in which they declared themselves *anda* a second time.

§117 [27v] [Temüǰin and J̌amuγa,] saying unto each other, "Hearing the word of the former elders, saying, 'As for] persons [which are] *anda*, [their] lives [are] one. Not forsaking one another, they are [the one for the other] a protection for [their] lives,' [one seeth that] such [is] the manner whereby [the *anda*] love each other. Now renewing again [the oath of] *anda*, we shall love each other," Temüǰin [28r] made to be girded unto *Anda* J̌amuγa the golden girdle which he had taken in spoiling Toγto'a of the Merkid. He suffered to be ridden by *Anda* J̌amuγa Toγto'a's yellowish white [mare] with black tail and mane [42] and barren for several years. J̌amuγa made to be girded unto *Anda* Temü-

[41] This word is glossed: "the tip of a sounding bone arrow."

[42] The word *qali'un* is glossed "horse with black mane and tail." In §177 below it is glossed "yellow [horse] with black mane and tail." "The word designates properly a horse's coat of which the shade can vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, the mane and the tail being black and the spine carrying a black band." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [58].

jin the golden girdle which he had taken in spoiling Dayir Usun of the Uuas Merkid. He suffered to be ridden by Temüjin the kid [coloured] white [horse] and which had a horn,[43] also of Dayir Usun. At the front of the Quldaγar Escarpment of [28v] the Qorqonaγ Valley, at the Branching Tree,[44] declaring themselves *anda*, loving each other, banqueting and feasting, they rejoiced and, at night, in their covering they passed the night together alone.

§118 [29r] When both Temüjin and J̌amuγa loved each other, loving each other one year and half of a [29v] second year, when, saying unto each other, "Let us journey," they journeyed one day from that encampment where they had been, they journeyed on the sixteenth of the first moon of summer, the "red circle day."[45] When both Temüjin and J̌amuγa going together in front of the carts went forward, when J̌amuγa spake, he said "*Anda, Anda* [30r] Temüjin,

Let us pitch next [unto] the mountain.
Let our herdmen
Attain unto a tent.[46]

Let us pitch next unto the stream.
Let our shepherds and keepers of lambs
Attain unto [food for] the gullet."

Temüjin, not being able to understand this word of J̌amuγa, standing in silence, remaining behind, waiting for the carts within the journeying camp—since it was a journeying camp—Temüjin said unto Mother Hö'elün, "*Anda* J̌amuγa speaketh. He speaketh, saying,

'Let us pitch next unto the mountain.
Let our herdmen
Attain unto a tent.

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[43] "It obviously is not a question of a true horn, but of a protuberant callosity which had developed on the upper part of the horse's head." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [56].

[44] See Chapter I, Note 40.

[45] See Chapter II, note 29.

[46] I. e., "pitch a tent for themselves."

Let us pitch next unto the stream.
Let our shepherds and keepers of lambs
Attain unto [food for] the gullet.'

I not being able to understand this his word, I spake not [31r] even aught as an answer unto it. I am come, saying, 'I shall inquire of [my] mother [concerning this].'" At the moment when Mother Hö'elün had not yet uttered [aught], when Börte Üjin spake, she said, "*Anda* Jamuγa is said [to be] one who easily becometh weary. Now the time is come when he becometh weary of us. The words which *Anda* Jamuγa hath said a little while ago are words which, then, cover a plot against us. Let us not pitch. While we continue in this movement, let us, separating ourselves well, move, then, travelling at night."

§119 [32r] Approving [this] according to the word of Börte Üjin, not pitching, at the moment when, moving, travelling at night, he went forward, he passed by the Tayiči'ud on the way. And the Tayiči'ud, trembling, also removed the same night, then, in disorder toward Jamuγa. In the encampment of the Besüd of the Tayiči'ud ours, [33r] having taken a little boy named Kököčü, [one] which had remained behind in the encampment, came and gave him unto Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün nourished [him].

§120 [33v] Travelling all that night, when the day dawned and when they looked, [they saw that] Qači'un Toγura'un, Qaraqai Toγura'un, and Qaraldai Toγura'un of the Jalayir—these three Toγura'un elder brethren and younger brethren—had travelled at night and were drawing nigh. Again Qada'an Daldurqan, elder brethren and younger brethren of the Taγud—five Taγud [in all]—[34r] were also drawing nigh. Again, [men] such as Önggür, son of Münggetü Kiyan, were also drawing nigh with their Čangši'ud and Baya'ud. From the Barulas there came the elder brethren and younger brethren, Qubilai and Qudus. From the Mangγud there came both brethren Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi. Ögölen Čerbi, the younger brother of Bo'orču, separated himself [34v] from the Arulad and also came to join unto Bo'orču, his

elder brother.[47] The younger brethren of J̌elme, Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur,[48] separated themselves from the Uriangqan and came to join unto J̌elme. From the Besüd there also came both brethren Degei and Küčügür. From the Suldus there also came the elder brethren and younger brethren [35r] Čilgütei, Taki, and Tayiči'udai. Seče Domoγ of the J̌alayir also came with his two sons Arqai Qasar and Bala. From the Qongqotan there also came Söyiketü Čerbi. Sükegei J̌e'ün,[49] the son of J̌egei Qongdaqor of the Sükeken also came. Ne'üdei [35v] Čaγa'an Uua[50] also came. There also came Kinggiyadai of the Olqunu'ud, [and] from the Γorolas Seči'ür, and from the Dörben Moči Bedü'ün. Forasmuch as Butu of the Ikires had proceeded here as a son in law, he also came. From the Noyakin there also came J̌ungso. From the Oronar there also came J̌iryo'an. From the Barulas there also came Suγu Sečen [36r] with his son Qaračar. Again, Qorči, Old Man Üsün, and Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin also came [as] one *güre'en* together with their Menen Ba'arin.

§121 [37v] When Qorči came and spake, he said, "We [are] born of the woman which Bodončar Boγdo[51] seized and took [to wife]. With J̌amuγa we were ones of whom

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[47] Although this appears to be at variance with §92 where Bo'orču says, "The only son of Naqu Bayan is I," as demonstrated by Paul PELLIOT and Louis HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan, Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, Tome I (Leiden, 1951), p. 348, "To escape the contradiction, we can only admit that conformably moreover to a current Sino-Mongolian usage, 'brother' is applied here to first cousins."

[48] The epithet *Ba'atur* "Valiant Man" has been introduced anachronistically by the chronicler at this point.

[49] Although each element of this name is, in this instance, independently glossed, as if *Sükegei J̌e'ün* constituted, in reality, the names of two persons, the two elements are glossed in §151, however, as the name of a single person. In §§177 and 181, where the name is written *Sügegei J̌e'ün*, it is also glossed as the name of a single person. In §§124 and 177 only the first element *Sükegei* occurs. In §126 the same element is written *Sügegei*.

[50] Although the elements of this name, *Ne'üdei* and *Čaγa'an Uua*, are, in this instance, independently glossed, as if *Ne'üdei Čaγa'an Uua* constituted, in reality, the names of two persons, they are glossed in §129 below, however, as the name of a single person. From the Mongolian text in both §120 and §129 it seems evident that *Ne'üdei Čaγa'an Uua* is, in fact, the name of a single person.

[51] I. e., Bodončar "The Holy One." For the episode in question see §§40-43 above.

The [mother's] belly [was] one [and the same]

[and of whom]

The water of the mother's womb [was] an only [one].

We would not [ever] have separated ourselves from J̌amuγa. [Howbeit,] a heavenly foretoken is come unto me and shewed unto mine [38r] eyes [that for which Temüǰin is foreordained]. A fallow cow coming, going round about J̌amuγa, having butted his tent cart, butting J̌amuγa, breaking one of [her] two horns, becoming one with [but] a [single] crooked horn, saying and saying, 'Bring [unto me] my horn,' bellowing and [38r] bellowing toward J̌amuγa, she standeth, raising and raising the dust [with her hoofs]. A hornless, fallow ox lifting up a great stake under the tent, harnessing [himself to it], drawing [it], when, behind Temüǰin, he drew nigh by the great way, bellowing and bellowing, saying, 'Heaven and Earth taking counsel with each other, let Temüǰin become [39r] Lord of the Nation,' and saying, '[I] draw nigh, conveying the nation [unto thee],' heavenly foretokens shew unto [mine] eyes and [fore]-tell unto me [that for which Temüǰin is foreordained]. If thou, Temüǰin, become Lord of the Nation, because I have [so fore]told [unto thee], how wilt thou cause [me] to rejoice?" When Temüǰin spake, he said, [39v] "Verily, if they so suffer [me] to govern the nation, I shall make thee a captain of ten thousand." [Qorči] said, "Even if I, a man which hath [fore]told [unto thee] many principles, become a captain of ten thousand, what happiness will [that] be? Having caused [me] to become a captain of ten thousand, suffering [me] to take of my freewill the beautiful and good maidens of the nation, make [me] to become one which hath even [40r] thirty wives. Again hearken unto whatsoever I shall have said."[52]

§122 [41r] The Geniges having Γunan at their head also came [as] one *güre'en*. Again, Daritai Odčigin also came [as] one *güre'en*. From the J̌adaran there also came Mulqalqu. Again, Ünǰin came [as] one *güre'en* of the Saγayid. Having removed, so separating

[52] See §207 below, wherein Qorči's request is granted. See also §241 below for another reference.

themselves from J̌amuγa, at the moment when they were pitching [at] Ayil [41r] Qaraγana of the Kimurγa Stream, again, separating themselves from J̌amuγa both Sača Beki and Taiču, sons of Sorqatu J̌ürki of the J̌ürkin,[53] [also came as] one *güre'en*. Again, Qučar Beki, the son of Nekün Taisi [also came as] one *güre'en*. Again, A[l]tan Odčigin, the son of Qutula Qan, [also came] as one *güre'en*. These, again, removing, separating themselves from Jamuγa, joining [unto him], pitched [with Temüǰin], at the moment when [42r] [Temüǰin] was pitching at Ayil Qaraγana of the Kimurγa Stream. Journeying from thence, they pitched [at] Kökö Lake of Qara J̌ürügen of the Senggür Stream within [Mount] Gürelgü.

§123 [42v] When Altan, Qučar, and Sača Beki took counsel with one another together and spake [43r] unto Temüǰin, [saying,] "We shall make thee to become *qan*. If [thou] Temüǰin become *qan*, we,

"Hasting as spies unto the many enemies,
Maidens and ladies
Good of beauty,
Palace tents,
Ladies and maidens
Comely of cheek
Of realms and peoples,
And geldings good of rump,
Making [them] to trot, we shall bring for [thee]. [43v]

If we hunt the crafty wild beasts,
We shall go out beforehand to compass [them] for thee.

We shall press [them] for [thee] in such wise that the bellies
Of the wild beasts of the steppe become united together.
We shall press [them] for [thee] in such wise that the thighs
Of the wild beasts of the cliff become united together.[54]
If we, a day of battle,
Violate thine orders,

[53] See Chapter I, note 31.
[54] See §179 below.

Severing [us]
From [our] goods,
From our ladies and wives,
Go [thou], forsaking on the earth and ground [44r]
Our black heads.

If we, a day of peace,
Break thy counsel,
Severing [us]
From household and goods,
From our wives and children,
Go [thou], forsaking [us]
In a land without a lord."

Thus pledging [their] word,
Thus swearing an oath,

they made Temüǰin to become *qan*, naming [him] Činggis Qahan.[55]

§124 [44v] Činggis, being become *qahan*, Ögölei Čerbi, the younger brother of Bo'orču, carried [45r] a quiver. Qaǰi'un Toγura'un carried a quiver. Both the brethren J̌etei and Doqolqu carried [each] a quiver. When Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi, and Qada'an Daldurqan—[all] three—spake, saying,

" May we not suffer [thee] to lack
[Thy] morning drink.
May we not neglect
[Thine] evening drink,"

they became cooks. When Degei spake, [saying,] [45v]

" In making a wether of two years old
Into broth,
May I not fail
In the morning;
May I not be negligent
At night.

[55] For the second coronation of Temüǰin see §202 below.

Herding the speckled sheep,
I shall cause the bottom of [thy] cart to be filled
[with them].
Herding the yellow sheep,
I shall cause [thy] fold to be filled [with them].
I have been gluttonous and bad.
Herding the sheep,
I shall eat [their] bowels,"[56]

Degei [46r] herded the sheep. When his younger brother Güčügür spake, saying,

"May I not cause
Its linch-pin
To overturn the cart having a lock.
May I not cause
The cart having a *tenggisge*[57]
To break on the road."

he said, "I shall put in order the tent carts." Dodai Čerbi [46v] said, "May I oversee the maidservants and menservants within the tent." [Činggis Qahan] said, "Qubilai, Čilgütei, Qarqai Toγura'un—[all] three—together with Qasar, carrying swords,

As for those which pride themselves on their might,
Cut ye off
Their necks.
As for those which pride themselves on their courage,
Cut ye in twain[58]
Their breasts."

[Činggis Qahan] said, "As for both Belgütei and Qaraldai Toγura'un,

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[56] Or "rectum"? Cf. the Monguor *quänbtiäsg* "le derrière (homme, animaux)" A. DE SMEDT, C. I. C. M. et A. MOSTAERT, C. I. C. M., *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, Pei-p'ing, 1933, p. 123.

[57] This word, not glossed, may mean "axletree." Cf. the word *tenggeli* "axeltree" in §101 above.

[58] The word *onglajidqun*, not glossed and not elsewhere attested, is a *benedictivus* in *-dqun* of a verb *onglaji-*. Cf. the word *ongjaldaju* "being cut off" in §208 below.

Let them bring [from the pasture] the geldings.
Let them become the keepers of the geldings.

[Činggis Qahan] said, "As for the Tayiči'ud Qutu, Moriči, and Mulqalqu—[all] three—let them herd the herds." [Činggis Qahan] said, "As for Arqai Qasar, Taγai, Sükegei, and Ča'urqan —[all] four—let them become

The *qo'očaγ* [59] [arrows]
Of far [bowshot],
The *odora* [60] [arrows]
Of near [bowshot].

When Sübe'etei Ba'adur [61] spake, he said,

"Becoming a rat
I shall gather with [others]. [47v]
Becoming a black crow
I shall assemble with [others]
Those which are outside.

Becoming the felt which covereth [a horse]
I shall assay with [others] to cover [thee].
Becoming the felt which restraineth the wind
Toward [thy] tent
I shall assay with [others] to serve as shelter."

§125 [48v] Then, when Činggis Qahan, becoming *qan*, spake unto both Bo'orču and J̌elme, he said, "Ye twain,

At the moment when I had no companion other than [my] shadow,
Being [my] shadow,[62]
Did settle my mind, ye!
Let [this] be in [my] thoughts."

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[59] This word is glossed: "name of [a kind of] arrow."
[60] This word is glossed: "name of [a kind of] arrow."
[61] In *Ba'adur* we have an instance of the frequent alternation of *-d-* with *-t-*, the form *Ba'atur* (< *Baγatur*) being the primitive one.
[62] See §§76, 77, and 78 above.

And he said, "[Ye twain,]

At the moment when I had no whip other than a
[horse]tail,
Becoming a [horse]tail,[63]
Did settle [49r] my heart, ye!
Let [this] be within [my] bosom."

And he said, "Forasmuch as ye twain beforetime stood [at my side], shall ye not be chiefs of all these?" Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "If I be protected by Heaven and Earth in such a way that [my] might increase, ye, the elders which are come [separating yourselves] from *Anda* J̌amuγa, [49v] by affection toward me, saying, 'We shall become companions,' could ye not be my happy companions? I have appointed you severally [to an office]."

§126 [50r] He sent both Daγai [64] and Sügegei [as] messengers unto To'oril Qan of the Kereyid, saying "They have made Činggis Qahan to become *qan*." To'oril Qan sent, saying, "To make my son Temüjin to become *qan* is very right. How would the Mongγol fare without a *qa*? Break ye not this your decision. Undo [ye] not your decision and that which hath been tied [of you]. Rend [ye] not your collar."

[63] See §§76, 77, and 78 above.

[64] In *Daγai* we have an instance of the frequent alternation of *d-* with *t-*, the form *Taγai* being the primitive one. See also note 61 above.

Chapter IV

§127 [1r] When [Činggis Qahan] sent both Arqai Qasar and Ča'urqan as messengers unto J̌amuγa, when J̌amuγa spake, when he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak unto both Altan and Qučar," he sent, saying, "Altan and Qučar, ye twain, between both *Anda* Temüǰin and us,

Piercing
The loins,
Pricking
The ribs

of the *anda*, why [1v] have ye made [us] to separate ourselves? At the moment when both the *anda* and we were yet together, not suffering [you] to make [us] to separate ourselves, why made ye not *Anda* Temüǰin *qan*? Now, thinking what thoughts have ye made him *qan*? Altan and Qučar, ye twain, keeping to your words which ye did speak, pacifying the thoughts of the *anda*, be [ye] companions well unto mine *anda*."

§128 [2r] After that, when Taičar, the younger brother of J̌amuγa, was at Ölegei Spring [2v] in front of [Mount] J̌alama, he went for to steal the herd of horses of our J̌oči Darmala which was at the Sa'ari Steppe. Taičar stole the herd of horses of J̌oči Darmala and took [it] away. [As for] J̌oči Darmala, his herd having been stolen and the hearts of his companions having failed, [3r] the same J̌oči Darmala going, pursuing [him], and at night arriving at the side of his herd, lying with his liver[1] on the mane of his horse, arriving, shooting asunder the back of Taičar, having killed [him] and having taken his herd of horses, he came [back].

§129 [3v] Saying that their younger brother Taičar had been

[1] I. e., "on his belly." In this position he could approach Taičar without being seen. The approach of a "riderless" horse on the steppe would not have alarmed Taičar.

killed, the J̌adaran having J̌amuγa at their head, thirteen tribes becoming companions, being thirty thousand [in number], passing by [Mount] Ala'u'ud and [Mount] Turγa'ud, setting forth against [4r] Činggis Qahan, saying, "They draw nigh," both Mülke Totaγ and Boroldai from the Ikires, at the moment when Činggis Qahan was at [Mount] Gürelgü, came, bringing a message. Having [thus] known this message—Činggis Qahan was thirteen *güre'ed* [in number]—being also thirty thousand [in number], [4v] setting forth against J̌amuγa, setting himself in array [at] Dalan Baljud, Činggis Qahan, then being made to remove by J̌amuγa, fled for refuge unto the J̌erene Narrows of the Onon [River]. When J̌amuγa spake, he said, "We have made [him] to flee for refuge unto J̌erene of the Onon," and, when he returned, [5r] making the princes of the Činos to be boiled [in] seventy kettles and cutting off the head of Ne'üdei Čaγa'an U'a, he dragged [it] away at the tail of [his] horse.

§130 [5v] Then, after that J̌amuγa was returned from thence, J̌ürčedei of the Uru'ud, having led his Uru'ud, and Quyuldar of the Mangγud, having led his Mangγud, [6r] separated themselves from J̌amuγa and came unto Činggis Qahan. Father Münglig of the Qongqotad then being with J̌amuγa, Father Münglig with his seven sons separated himself from J̌amuγa and then came to join himself unto Činggis Qahan. Saying, "These people are come from J̌amuγa," Činggis Qahan, rejoicing [6v] in himself, saying, "The people are come," Činggis Qahan, Hö'elün Üǰin, Qasar, together with Sača Beki,[2] Taiču, and others of the J̌ürkin, saying unto one another, "Let us feast in the forest of the Onan [River]," when they feasted, they poured [the content of] one pitcher first for Činggis Qahan, for Hö'elün Üǰin, for Qasar, for Sača Beki, and [for] others. [7r] Because [in serving the women] they also poured [the content of] one pitcher beginning at Ebegei, the "little mother" [3] of Sača Beki, both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun, saying, [each unto herself,] "How pour they, not beginning at

[2] The name is transcribed *Seče Beki* in §49 above, but *Sača Beki* elsewhere in the text.

[3] Ebegei was called the "little mother" of Sača Beki, because she was a secondary, not a principal wife of his father Sorqatu J̌ürki (erroneously transcribed *Qutuγtu Yürki* in §49 above).

me, but beginning at Ebegei?," smote the cook Šiki'ür. Being smitten, when the cook Šiki'ür spake, having said, "Because both Yesügei Ba'adur and [7v] Nekün Taisi are dead, why am I thus smitten?," [4] he wailed with a loud voice.

§131 [8r] Belgütei from us, having set that feast in order, bringing the geldings of Činggis Qahan, was standing [there]. Büri Bökö from the J̌ürkin was setting [8v] that feast in order. [Belgütei] seized as a robber a person of the Qadagid which had stolen a tether from our *kirü'ese*.[5] Büri Bökö protecting his that person—Belgütei, constantly, when he wrestled, having put off his right sleeve, went [with his right arm] bare—Büri Bökö clave asunder [9r] with a sword his bare shoulder from which he had so put off [his sleeve].[6] When Činggis Qahan, sitting in the shade, seeing from within the feast Belgütei, which, being thus cloven, then, not making [it] to be even aught and not troubling himself, went, suffering the blood to flow, came out and spake, at the moment when he was saying, "How have we been being so done unto?," [9v] when Belgütei spake, he said, "The wound is not yet [grievous]. I fear lest, because of me, there be for the brethren displeasure on one side and the other. I am not disabled. I am somewhat better. At the moment when the elder brethren and the younger brethren are hardly become accustomed to one another, let the elder brother abstain [from doing something which could make an end of the agreement]. Wait a moment!" [7]

§132 [10r] Činggis Qahan [and his people], as Belgütei stayed [him] so much as that, not being willing, tearing asunder the branches of trees, drawing the beaters [10v] out of the leathern buckets, together smiting [them], overcoming the J̌ürkin, ravished and took both Qorijin Qadun and Qu'určin Qadun. Moreover, the same,[8] being told, "Let us make peace," returning both Qorijin Qadun and Qu'určin Qadun, at the moment when they were

[4] For a similar reference to the deceased Yesügei Ba'atur see the words of Hö'elün Üjin in §70 above.

[5] This word is glossed: "[place where] one lights off a horse."

[6] This episode, as we have seen, was anticipated in §50 above.

[7] I.e., "Haste not to take vengeance!"

[8] I.e., the Mongγol.

sending messengers unto each other, saying, "Let us make peace," [Činggis Qahan] learned the message [whereby one was] saying, "The Altan Qan of the Kitad people, when Megüjin Se'ültü and others of the Tatar [11r] would not hearken unto his counsel, sent, then, saying unto Ongging Čingsang,[9] 'Making ready the soldiers, doubt [thou] not!' Ongging Čingsang, driving up along the Ulja [River] the Tatar having Megüjin Se'ültü at their head, with their herds and food, draweth nigh." Having learned that message,

§133 [11v] when Činggis Qahan spake, having said, "From days of old the Tatar people have been a hating people which have made an end of [our] [12r] grandfathers and fathers. Now at this opportunity we shall together attack [them]," he sent messengers bringing this message unto To'oril Qan, saying, "One saith, 'Ongging Čingsang of the Altan Qan draweth nigh, driving up along the Ulja [River] the Tatar having Megüjin Se'ültü of the Tatar at their head.' We shall together attack [12v] the Tatar which have made an end of our grandfathers and fathers. Let Father To'oril Qan come quickly." Having received this message, when To'oril Qan spake, having said, "My son is come, telling [me] rightly. We shall together attack," the third day, mustering his army and making the army to arise [13r] To'oril Qan, hasting, came in person.[10] When both Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan sent, telling [it] unto the Jürkin having Sača Beki and Taiču of the Jürkin at their head, [13v] they sent, saying, "Let us now at this opportunity jointly attack and let us set forth together against the Tatar which from days of old have made an end of our grandfathers and fathers." Waiting six days from the [time when it was] to be come by the Jürkin, not being able [to wait any longer], both Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan, [their] armies arising together, at the moment when they were drawing nigh along the Ulja [River], together attacking with Ongging Čingsang, at Qusutu Šitü'en and Naratu Šitü'en of the Ulja, the Tatar having

[9] I.e., WAN-YEN Hsiang *ch'eng-hsiang* 完顏襄丞相. See Chapter XI, note 9.

[10] The word *igtüneǰü*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. It is a *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of a verb *igtüne-*. My tentative translation is based on that which is found in the continuous translation of the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 4.14v3: 親自到來 (*Ch'in-tzu tao-lai*). "He came in person."

Megüjin [Se'ültü] of the Tatar at their head held there [14r] a fortress. Both Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan, seizing from their fortress [those] which had so fortified themselves and Megüjin Se'ültü, then killing Megüjin Se'ültü, Činggis Qahan then took his silver cradle and [his] bed covering decked with [big] pearls.

§134 [15r] Saying, "They have killed Megüjin Se'ültü"—[that is to say] both Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan [11]—Ongging Čingsang, having learned that they had killed Megüjin Se'ültü, rejoicing exceedingly, gave unto Činggis Qahan the title *ja'ud quri*. Then he gave unto To'oril of the Gereyid the title *ong*.[12] Because Ongging Čingsang had named the name [15v] *Ong Qan*, from thenceforth [To'oril] was [Ong Qan]. When Ongging Čingsang spake, he said, "[By] your having jointly attacked and killed Megüjin Se'ültü ye have done exceeding great service unto the Altan Qan. I shall report this your service unto the Altan Qan. Let the Altan Qan know whether he should add unto Činggis Qahan a greater title than this and should give [unto him] the title [16r] *jautau*." [13] Ongging Čingsang withdrew from thence, rejoicing so much as that. Both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, then, spoiling the Tatar, parting unto each other [the spoil], together taking [it], returned unto their abodes and lighted.

§135 [16v] At the moment when we were spoiling in the encampment where the Tatar had pitched at Naratu Šitü'en where they had fortified themselves, our soldiers got from the encampment a little boy—[one] which [the Tatar] had forsaken. Bringing the little boy which had a golden, round ring [in his nose] and which had a stomacher of gold silk and lined with sable, Činggis Qahan

[11] Although I have translated the text as it is, regarding its irregular, if not awkward construction as one characteristic of the spoken language, Paul PELLIOT, *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Paris, 1949), p. 36 §134, seeing a lacuna, "restores" the words *Ongging čingsang-un esergü od-bai* taken from the *Altan tobči* (*nova*). Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 32, ll. 2-3. If we adopt this "restoration," the text must then be rendered: "Saying, '[We] have killed Megüjin Se'ültü,' both Činggis Qahan and To'oril Qan [went to the encounter of Ongging Čingsang]."

[12] I. e., the Chinese *wang* 王 ("prince").

[13] I. e., the Chinese *chao-t'ao* 招討 (lit., "to summon [those who have not submitted] or to punish [those who have revolted]"), a term of Sung origin, used by the Chin 金, for "pacification commissioner."

gave [him] unto Mother Hö'elün, saying, "[He is] a *sauya*." [17v] When Mother Hö'elün spake, [she said,] "He must be the son of a good man. He must be the offspring of a man whose origin is good." Making [him] to be [her] sixth son, the younger brother of her five sons, the mother named [him] Šikiken Quduqu[14] and raised [him] up.

§136 [18r] The *a'uruγ* of Činggis Qahan was at Hariltu Lake. The Jürkin stripped off the clothing of fifty men—[those] which had remained behind in the *a'uru'ud*. They killed ten men. Saying, "[We] have been so done unto by the Jürkin," when those [18v] of us who had remained behind in the *a'uru'ud* told [it] unto Činggis Qahan, having heard this message, when Činggis Qahan, being exceeding wroth, spake, having said, "How have we been being thus done unto by the Jürkin? At the moment when we were feasting in the forest of the Onan [River], the same also smote the cook Šiki'ür. The same also clave the shoulder of [19r] Belgütei. As it was said [by them], 'Let us make peace,' [we] returned and gave [back] both Qorijin Qadun and Qu'určin. After that, saying, 'Let us set forth, together attacking the hating and resentful Tatar of former times which had made an end of our grandfathers and fathers,' although we awaited the Jürkin for six [19v] days, neither was it come [by them]. Now, again, relying on the enemy,[15] an enemy they themselves also are," Činggis Qahan set forth against the Jürkin. At the moment when the Jürkin were at the Dolo'an Bolda'ud of Ködö'e Isle of the Kelüren [River], he spoiled their people. Both Sača Beki and [20r] Taiču, few [in number] and with [nothing other than their] bodies, fled. Pursuing after them and overtaking them at the Telētü Outlet, he seized both Sača Beki and Taiču. [After] seizing [them], when Činggis Qahan spake unto both Sača and Taiču, [20v] being told, "What said we unto one another in days of old?," when both Sača and Taiču spake, having said, "We have not kept to our

[14] The name is transcribed *Šigiken Qutuqu* in §138 below. Elsewhere it is *Šigi Qutuqu* (§§202, 203, 214, 234, 242, 252, and 257) and *Šigi Quduqu* (§260). In this instance, the form *Šikiken* (~*Šigiken*), with the diminutive suffix *-ken*, is one of endearment.

[15] I. e., "taking advantage of the fact that we are involved in a campaign against the Tatar."

word which we did speak. Make [thou us] to keep to our word!" [16] Being aware of their words, they stretched forth their necks for [him].[17] Making [them] to be aware of their words, making [them] to keep to their words, he accomplished [the matter] and forsook them even there.[18]

§137 [21r] Having accomplished [the matter of] both Sača and Taiču, [Činggis Qahan] came back.[19] At the moment when he was making the people of the Jürkin to remove, the sons of Telegetü Bayan of the Jalayir, Gü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayiči, and Jebke—[all] three—were at those Jürkin. When Gü'ün U'a presented himself with his two sons Muqali and [22r] Buqa and spake, he gave [them unto him], saying,

"Let them be the slaves
Of thy threshold.
If they swerve
From thy threshold,
Cut [thou] their sinews above the heel.
Let them be the private slaves
Of thy door.[20]
If they depart
From thy door,
Cutting
Their liver, forsake [21] ye [them]."

[22v] When Čila'un Qayiči also presented himself unto Činggis Qahan [with] his two sons Tüngge and Qaši and spake, he said, "I have given [them unto thee], saying,

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[16] See §123 above: "If we, a day of battle, violate thine orders, . . . go [thou], forsaking on the earth and ground [44r] our black heads." Aware that they have broken their oaths, Sača Beki and Taiču request of Činggis Qahan the punishment which they themselves had prescribed.

[17] I. e., for Činggis Qahan to cut off.

[18] I. e., killed them at the very place where he had overtaken and seized them.

[19] I. e., to the Jürkin encampment.

[20] See §§ 180 and 211 below.

[21] I. e., kill.

'Let them be
Guarding thy "golden threshold."'
If they go apart
From thy "golden threshold,"
Sever ye their life and forsake ye [them].

I have given [them unto thee], saying,

'Let them [23r] raise up
For [thee thy] wide [felt] door.'
If they go away
From thy wide [felt] door,
Trample their hearts and forsake ye [them].'"

They gave Jebke unto Qasar. Jebke brought from the encampment of the Jürkin a little boy named Boro'ul and, presenting himself unto Mother Hö'elün, [23v] gave [him unto her].

§138 [24r] When Mother Hö'elün raised up within the tent the boy named Güčü which was gotten from the encampment of the Mer-[ki]d, the boy named Kököčü which was gotten from the encampment of the Besüd in the midst of the Tayiči'ud, [24v] the boy named Šigiken Qutuqu which was gotten from the encampment of the Tatar, and the boy named Boro'ul which was gotten from the encampment of the Jürkin—these four—, Mother Hö'elün raised [them] up within the tent, saying, "[If it be not they,] of whom, for my sons, would I [otherwise] make

Eyes to see by day,
Ears to hear by night?" [22]

§139 [25r] [As for] the reason [of the name] of these Jürkin people, when they became Jürkin, the eldest brother of the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Baraqaγ.[23] His son was Sorqatu Jürki. [25v] When he became Jürkin, saying, "[He is] the eldest brother of the sons of Qabul Qan," [Qabul Qan] chose from among his people and chose and gave [unto Ökin Baraqaγ] strong and mighty [men]

[22] See § 208 below.
[23] Elsewhere Ökin Barqaγ. See §§48 and 49 above and §140 below.

Which had gall [24] in the liver;
Which had ability in the thumb to shoot arrows;
Which had lungs full of heart;
Which had mouths full of fury.
Which, every man,
Had skill

and, because they had fury, had gall, had courage, and were [26r] *jörkimes*,[25] such [is] the reason for which they are called Jürkin. Činggis Qahan conquered such courageous people and destroyed those which were of the Jürkin clan. Činggis Qahan made its people and [its] folk to be his own private people.

§140 One day Činggis Qahan said, "Let us make the twain, Büri Bökö and Belgütei, to wrestle." Büri Bökö [27r] was at the Jürkin —[Beforetime] [26] Büri Bökö, seizing Belgütei with one of [his] hands, thrusting [him] with one of [his] legs, making [him] to fall, assayed to press [him to the ground], not suffering [him] to move. Büri Bökö [was] the strong man [27] of the nation.—Then [Činggis Qahan] made both Belgütei and Büri Bökö to wrestle. Büri Bökö —a man which was not to be overcome—willingly fell. Belgütei, not being able [27v] to press [him to the ground], took hold of [his] shoulders and gat him up on [his] buttocks. Belgütei looked back and, with [his] seeing Činggis Qahan, the Qahan bit his lower lip. Belgütei, getting understanding, sat [28] on top of him and, crossing the two [ends of] his collar, pulled, holding in [his] hand [the two ends of the collar], and, putting his knee on his

[24] See Chapter II, note 5.

[25] In *jörkimes* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*Sorqatu Jürki*, *jörkimes*, and *Jürkin*). The word *jörkimes*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. The meaning "irresistible" is suggested by the continuous translation in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 4.26v2: 無人能敵 (*Wu jen neng ti*). "There was not anyone who could resist [them]." In note 4 on pages 200-201 of the *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, PELLIOT and HAMBIS stated, with reference to *jörkimes*, "in fact, this appears to be a negative form of Turkish type."

[26] The *Altan tobči* (*nova*) has *urida*. Cf. *Altan Tobči*, *A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 86, l. 7. The continuous translation in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (4.29r4) also has 先 (*hsien*) "beforetime."

[27] Hence, his name *Büri Bökö*, Büri "The Strong Man."

[28] As on a gelding.

backbone, brake [it] and dispatched [him]. When [28r] Büri Bökö, his back being broken, spake, having said, "I should not have been overcome by Belgütei. Being afraid of the Qahan, by a device, being fallen and faltering, I have been attained unto my life," he died. Belgütei, having pulled his back so that it brake, dragged [him] away, [28v] cast [him] away, and departed. The eldest brother of the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Barqaγ. The next was Bartan Ba'atur. His son was Yesügei Ba'atur. The one next to him was Qutuγtu Müngler.[29] His son was Büri. Because, [going] [29r] beyond [the lineage of] the son of Bartan Ba'atur which was closest [to him in age], he was become a companion unto the courageous sons of Barqaγ, Büri Bökö, [although he was] the strong man of the nation, died, suffering his back to be broken by Belgütei.

§141 [30r] After that, [in] the year of the cock [1201], the Qadagin and the Salǰi'ud joining themselves—the Qadagin having Baqu Čorogi of the Qadagin at their head and [the Salǰi'ud] having Čirgidai Ba'atur of the Salǰi'ud at their head—, the Dörben making peace with the Tatar—[the Dörben] having Qaǰi'un Beki of the Dörben at their head and [the Tatar] having J̌alin Buqa of the Alči Tatar of the Tatar at their head—[the Ikires] having [30v] Tüge Maqa of the Ikires at their head, [the Unggirad] having Dergeg, Emel, Alqui, and others of the Unggirad at their head, [the Γorolas] having Čonaγ and Čaγa'an of the Γorolas at their head, Buyiruγ Qan of the Güčü'üd Naiman from the Naiman, Qutu the son of Toγto'a Beki of the Merkid, Quduγa Beki of the Oyirad, and Tayiči'ud such as Taryutai Kiriltuγ, Qodun Orčang, and [30v] A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ud, these tribes, assembling themselves at Alqui Spring, saying, "Let us raise up J̌amuγa the J̌aǰirad as *qa*," together cut in twain a stallion and a mare and made covenant with one another. Journeying from there down along the Ergüne River at the corner of the island where the Ken River poureth into the Ergüne, they then raised up [31v] J̌amuγa as *gür qa*.[30] Having raised [him] up as *gür qa*, they said unto one

[29] He is called *Qutuγtu Münggür* in §48 above.
[30] I. e., "Ruler of All."

another, "Let us set forth against both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan." That they had said unto one another, "Let us set forth," Qoridai of the Γorolas, at the moment when Činggis Qahan was at [Mount] Gürelgü, sent, bringing this message. [32r] Having suffered this message to come, when Činggis Qahan sent, bringing this message unto Ong Qan, Ong Qan, having suffered [him] to bring [this] message [unto him], making his army to arise, hasting, Ong Qan, arriving, came unto Činggis Qahan.

§142 [32v] Having suffered Ong Qan to come, both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan joining themselves, [33r] said unto each other, "Let us set forth against J̌amuγa." When they set forth down along the Kelüren River, Činggis Qahan made Altan, Qučar, and Daritai—[all] three—to go as vanguards. Ong Qan made Senggüm, J̌aqa Gambu, and Bilge Beki—[all] three—to go as vanguards. Again when they sent watchmen in front of these vanguards, they placed one station [33v] of watchmen at Enegen Güiletü. Beyond that they made [one] to place one station of watchmen at [Mount] Čegčer. Beyond that they made [one] to place one station of watchmen at [Mount] Čiqurqu. At the moment when our vanguards, Altan, Qučar, Senggüm, and others, arriving [at] Udkiya, were saying unto one another, "Let us pitch," a man from the watchmen [34r] which [we] had placed at [Mount] Čiqurqu, hasting, came and brought a message, saying, "The enemy draweth nigh." That message being come, not pitching, going against the enemy, saying, "Let us get tidings," together arriving, getting tidings, when they asked, saying, "Who are [ye]?," [they learned that] A'učU Ba'atur from the Mongγol, [34v] Buyiruγ Qan of the Naiman, Qutu, son of Toγto'a Beki of the Merkid, and Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, vanguards of J̌amuγa —these four—were gone as vanguards of J̌amuγa. Our vanguards cried unto those. While they were crying, it was become evening. Saying, "We shall fight with one another to morrow," withdrawing, they passed the night, uniting [forces] with the middle [of our army].

§143 [35r] On the morrow making [the soldiers] to march, coming together, together setting themselves in array [at] Köyiten, at the

moment when [in joining battle the two armies] were making each other to retire [now] downward and [now] upward [31] and [35v] were reforming their ranks, both the same Buyiruγ Qan and Quduqa knew [how to make] a *ǰada*.[32] As they began to make a *ǰada*, the *ǰada* turned, and the *ǰada* was upon them, the same. The same not being able to march, being tumbled into ravines, having said unto one another, "We have not been loved by Heaven," [36r] dispersed themselves.

§144 Buyiruγ Qan of the Naiman, [36v] separating himself [from J̌amuγa], removed, betaking himself [unto] Uluγ Taγ [33] in front of the Altai. Qutu, son of Toγto'a of the Merkid, removed, betaking himself [unto] the Selengge [River]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, striving for the forest, removed, betaking himself [unto] Šisgis. A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ud removed, betaking himself [unto] the Onan [River]. J̌amuγa, having spoiled the peoples which had raised himself up as *qa*, J̌amuγa removed, returning down along [37r] the Ergüne. Those being so dispersed, Ong Qan pursued J̌amuγa down along the Ergüne [River]. Činggis Qahan pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ud toward the Onan. A'uču Ba'atur, being come unto his people, having made [them] to remove, making [them] to haste, the Tayiči'ud, [37v] A'uču Ba'atur and Hodun Orčang, ordering their remaining soldiers having square shields [on] the yonder side of the Onan [River], stood, ordering [them], saying, "Let us fight!" [34] Činggis Qahan, being arrived, fought with the Tayiǰi['ud]. Fighting exceedingly back and forth, evening coming, [the two armies] passed the night [so close to each other that they were as] propped the one over against the other in the same place [38r] in which they had fought.

[31] I. e., "now toward the foot of the mountain and now toward the top of the mountain."

[32] This word is glossed: "the ability to bring about wind and rain."

[33] I. e., "Big Mountain" (in Turkish).

[34] Although I have translated the text as it is, it is not to be doubted, as already demonstrated by P. PELLIOT in his article "Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*" in the *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930).199-202, that the reading *hüle'üd turastan* "[their] remaining [soldiers] having square shields" is an error for *Ülengüd Turas-tur* "at Ülengüd Turas." The *Altan tobči* (*nova*) has *Ulqud Turaγ-tur*. Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 90, l. 12.

And when the people, fleeing, were drawing nigh, even there they made a *güre'en* and passed the night togther with their soldiers.

§145 [38v] As Činggis Qahan, a vein of his neck being wounded in that battle, tried to stanch the blood, when, not being able, he was in a strait, waiting till the sun was set, even there, [the two armies being so close to each other that they were as] propped the one over against the other, he pitched. J̌elme, sucking and sucking [39r] the blood which had stopped [the wound], his mouth being stained with blood, J̌elme, not relying on [any] other person, sat keeping watch over [him]. Until it was become midnight, in mouthfuls having swallowed or having spat [out] the blood which had stopped [the wound], as midnight was passed, when Činggis Qahan, awakening within him, spake, he said, "The blood hath finished drying up. [39v] I am thirsty." Thereupon, J̌elme putting off his hat, boots, and garments—everything—, with [his] only breeches, [otherwise] stark naked, running amongst the enemies which were standing, [the two armies being so close to each other that they were as] propped the one over against the other, getting him up into a cart of the people which had made a *güre'en* yonder, seeking mare's milk, [but] not being able [to find any]—when [those people] were fled, they had loosed their [40r] mares, not milking [them]—not being able to get mare's milk, having taken from [one of] their carts a great [vessel of] curd having a covering, he lifted [it] up and came. On the way, when he went and came, he was not seen by [any] person. Heaven, indeed, protected him. Having fetched the curd with the covering, the same J̌elme [40v] himself, indeed, seeking and fetching water, mixed the curd and made [it] to be drunk by the Qa'an. Drinking [it], resting thrice, when the Qahan spake, having said, "[Mine] eyes are become bright within [me]," while he sat up, the day dawned and, as it became bright, when he looked, [he perceived that] round about that [place where he] had sat there was a mire round about [the place where] J̌elme had, sucking and [41r] sucking, spat [out] the blood which had stopped [the wound]. When Činggis Qahan, seeing [it], spake, he said, "What is this? If [thou] hadst spat afar, how would it have been?" Thereupon, when J̌elme spake, he said,

"When thou wast in a strait, being afraid of the fact that, if I should go afar, I should be separated from thee, being in haste, having swallowed [41v] that which I swallowed and having spat that which I spat, as I was in a strait, how much also entered into my belly?" When Činggis Qahan again spake, he said, "While, being such, I was [so] lying, why didst thou, naked, run and enter [amongst those enemies]? If [thou] hadst been taken, wouldst [42r] thou not have reported that I [was] such?" When Jelme spake, he said, "As for my thought, [it was that,] when [I] went naked, if I should be taken [by them], I would say, 'I have had the desire of submitting myself unto you. Perceiving and seizing [me], saying, "Let us kill [him]," [the Mongγol] putting off my garments—everything—, at the moment when they had not yet put off mine only breeches, I suddenly escaped and now am come, [42v] rejoining myself unto you.' Regarding me as sincere, they would have given garments unto me and would have cared for [me]. Having ridden a horse, while [astonished] they would have been watching [me escape], in a space of time as long [as that which they would have needed to do that], would I not be come [back]? So thinking and saying [unto myself], 'I would that I arrive in time for [satisfying] the desire [to drink] caused by the parching thirst of the Qa'an, 'the eye [remaining] black,'[35] thus thinking, [43r] I am gone." When Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Now what shall I say? In days of old, at the moment when the Three Merkid, coming, were making [me] to go round about Burqan [Qaldun] thrice, thou didst once save my life.[36] Now, again, sucking with [thy] mouth the blood which was drying up [43v], thou didst [re]open my life. Again, at the moment when I was in a strait with a parching thirst, risking thy life, 'the eye [remaining] black,'[37] thou didst enter into [the midst of] the enemy. Making [my] drink to be sufficient, thou didst make [my] life to enter [into me again]. Let these thy three services be within my thoughts."

[35] I. e., "without winking the eye."
[36] See § 102 above, where, however, there is no mention of this fact.
[37] See note 35 above.

§146 [45r] After that the day had dawned, the soldiers which had passed the night [so close to one another that they were as] propped over against one another, in the night, then, had dispersed themselves. The peoples which had made a *güre'en* [there], saying that they would not be able to flee, did not remove from the place where they made a *güre'en*. Saying, " Let us cause the people which are fled to come back," Činggis Qahan, setting forth from the place where he had passed the night, at the moment when he was going, causing [45v] the people which were fleeing to come back, Činggis Qahan himself, hearing a woman with a red garment which was standing on a [mountain] pass, crying and wailing in a loud voice, saying, " Temüǰin!," sent a man for to ask, saying, " What man's wife is so crying? " As that man went and [46r] asked, when that woman spake, she said, " I am the daughter of Sorqan Šira. [I am] named Qada'an. The soldiers here have seized my husband and are killing [him]. When my husband was being killed, I called, cried, and wailed, saying, ' Let Temüǰin save my husband.' " When that man came [back] and spake these words [46v] unto Činggis Qa'an, Činggis Qahan, having heard these words, trotting, arrived. Činggis Qahan lighted at [the place where] Qada'an [was] and they embraced each other. Our soldiers had before killed her husband. Having caused those people to return, Činggis Qahan and the great army, pitching even there, [47r] passed the night. Inviting Qada'an, he suffered [her] to come and suffered [her] to sit beside [him]. The next day both Sorqan Šira and J̌ebe—those two which were people of Tödöge of the Tayiči'ud—also came. When Činggis Qahan spake unto Sorqan Šira, he said,

" Having cast upon the ground
The heavy wood
Which was at [my] neck,
Having made to be removed
The *buγa'u* wood
Which was at [my] [47v] collar,

were services of you, father and son. Ye, why have ye delayed [to come]? " When Sorqan Šira spake, he said, " I have been thinking

within me of [my] present support. Saying [unto myself], 'Why should I be in haste? If, being in haste, I am come before, my Tayiči'ud chiefs, those, will make to blow away as the ashes [of my hearth] my wife and sons, [48r] herd and food which I shall have left behind,' not being in haste, now, overtaking [you], we are come to unite forces with our Qahan." When he had made an end of speaking, [Činggis Qahan] said, "[It is] right!"

§147 [49r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "At the moment when [in joining battle the two armies], setting themselves in array [at] Köyiten, were making each other to retire and were reforming their ranks, from on those ridges there came an arrow. Who [then], from on the mountain, shot so as to break the atlas [38] of my war *qula* [39] white of mouth?" At [49v] that word, when Jebe spake, he said, "I shot from on the mountain. Now, if I be caused to die by the Qa'an, I shall remain rotting [on] a [piece of] ground the size of the palm [of a hand]. If I be favoured, before the Qa'an

I shall rush [forward] for [him]
So as to cleave the deep water asunder,
So as to break the bright stone to pieces.[40]
I shall rush [forward] for [him]
So as to break to pieces
The blue stone
In the place whither he shall have said,
'Arrive [thither]';
So as to break to pieces
The black stone [50r]
At the time when he shall have said, 'Assault.'" [41]

When Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "A man which hath walked as an enemy concealeth the fact that he hath killed, that he hath

[38] I. e., the first cervical vertebra.

[39] "A *qula*, a word which [67] in the interlinear translation is rendered by 黃馬 *huang-ma* 'yellow horse,' is properly a horse with a fallow coat which has a black mane and tail, a black stripe covering the spine." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [66]-[67].

[40] See Chapter II, note 3.

[41] See also §209 below.

been an enemy, and [even] his [own] body, and hideth his [own] words and is afraid. If [I] say, 'As for this [man],'[42] however, not hiding the fact that he hath killed and that he hath been an enemy, he [50v] is, however, declaring [it]. He is a man that may be a companion. He is named J̌iryo'adai. Because the same shot my war *qula* white of mouth, in the atlas, I shall use him as a weapon, naming [him] J̌ebe,"[43] naming [him] J̌ebe, he made a decree, saying, "Go at my side." Such [was] the manner in which J̌ebe came from the Tayiči'ud and [51r] became a companion [unto Činggis Qahan].[44]

[42] I.e., J̌iryo'adai.

[43] The name *J̌ebe* means "Weapon." He is so named, as we see, from the facts that he shot the *ǰebelegü qula*, "the war *qula*" or, more literally, "the *qula* which served as a weapon (*ǰebe*)," and that Činggis Qahan says: "*ǰebeleye imayi*" "I shall use him as a weapon (*ǰebe*)," i.e., "instead of my *ǰebelegü qula* which he shot."

[44] See also § 257 below.

CHAPTER V

§148 [1r] Činggis Qahan then spoiling the Tayiči'ud, making [them] to blow in the wind as ashes [of the hearth], slew unto the seed of the seed the men of the Tayiči'ud "bone"— Tayiči'ud such as A'uču Ba'atur, Qoton Orčang, and Qudu'udar. Making their nation and people to remove, [1v] coming, Činggis Qahan wintered [at] Quba Qaya.

§149 Old Man Širgü'etü of the Ničügüd Ba'arin with his sons, Alaγ and Naya'a, seizing Taryutai Kiriltuγ, chief of the Tayiči'ud which was staying in the woods, saying, "He is a hated [1] man"— Taryutai [2r] which was not able to ride upon a horse [2]—making [him] to ride in a cart, at the moment when [2v] Old Man Širgü'etü with his sons, Alaγ and Naya'a, was drawing nigh, holding Taryutai Kiriltuγ, the sons and younger brethren of Taryutai Kiriltuγ came, overtaking [them], saying, "Let us take [him] away!" With his sons and younger brethren coming, overtaking [them], when Old Man Širgü'etü, getting him up into the cart, sitting astride [3] Taryutai which was not able to arise—on [him] on his back—drawing out a knife, spake, having said, "Thy sons and younger brethren are come for to take thee away. Even if, saying [unto myself], '[I] have laid hand upon my *qan*,' I do not kill thee, they, indeed, will kill [me], [3r] saying, '[He] hath laid hand upon his *qan*.' And if I kill [thee], I shall likewise be killed. At the very moment when I die, I shall die, taking a pillow," [4] at the

[1] I.e., by Činggis Qahan.

[2] Because, as implied by his nickname *Taryutai* ("Fatty"), he was too fat.

[3] As on a gelding. See Chapter IV, note 28.

[4] "'To die, taking a cushion (or a pillow),' means 'by anticipation to avenge one's own death by killing at the moment of dying an enemy who will be able to serve as cushion (as pillow), that is to say with whom one will be able to be interred and on the body of whom one will be able to be recumbent as on a cushion (a pillow).'" Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [69]. For another example see §154 below.

moment when, being astride [5] [him], he was at the point to cut his throat with his big knife, when Taγutai Kiriltuγ, with a loud voice, calling his younger brethren and sons, spake, saying, " Širgü'etü [3v] is killing me. When he maketh an end of killing [me], taking away my dead body without life, what will ye do? At the moment when he hath not yet killed me, return ye quickly! Temüjin will not kill me. At the time when Temüjin [was yet] little, saying [unto myself], ' He hath

Fire in his eyes,
Light in his face,' [6]

saying [unto myself], [4r] ' He is remaining behind in an encampment without a lord,' [7] [I] went for to take [him] and [I] brought [him hither]. Saying [unto myself], ' If I instruct [him], it seemeth that he will learn,'

[I] instructed and taught [him]
As if I were training
A new foal of three years old or a [new] foal of
two years old.

If [I] had said [unto myself], ' I shall make [him] to die,' would I have not been able to make [him] to die? It is said, ' Now

His intelligence
Is entering.
His mind
Is opening.' [8]

Temüjin will [4v] not make me to die. Ye, my sons and younger brethren, return ye quickly. Širgü'etü will kill me," he wailed with a loud voice. When his sons and younger brethren spake unto one another, saying unto one another, " We are come, saying, ' We shall save the life of [our] father.' When Širgü'etü maketh an end of making his life to die, what shall we do with his empty [5r]

[5] See note 3 above.
[6] See " Chapter I," note 44.
[7] Because his father, Yesügei Ba'atur, is now deceased.
[8] I. e., he is conducting himself as a rational man. See Chapter XII, note 44.

body without life? However, let us quickly return, at the moment when he hath not yet killed [him]," they returned. The sons of Old Man Širgü'etü, Alaγ and Naya'a, came [back], having withdrawn themselves [from their father], at the moment when those [9] were come. [Širgü'etü] having suffered them to come, when, removing, they were drawing nigh, when, on the way, they arrived at Qutuqul Nu'u, then when [5v] Naya'a spake, he said, "If, seizing this Taryutai, we arrive, Činggis Qahan, saying [unto himself] that we are come, laying hand on our proper *qan*, Činggis Qahan, saying of us, 'Those who are come, having laid hand on their proper *qan*, people worthy of what confidence [are] these? How would they also be companions unto us? [They are] people which one is not able to regard as companions. People which have laid hand upon their proper [6r] *qan* shall be beheaded.' Shall we [not] be beheaded? In stead, releasing Taryutai from hence and sending [him back], let us go, saying, 'We are come [with nothing other than] our bodies to give [our] might [10] unto Činggis Qahan.' [6v] We shall say, 'Seizing Taryutai, we were drawing nigh. Not being able to forsake [11] our proper *qan*, saying [unto ourselves], "How shall we make [him] to die before our eyes?," releasing [him], we are come, believing in [you] and saying, 'We shall give [our] might [unto you].'" The father and sons, approving this word of Naya'a, released Taryutai Kiriltuγ from Quduqul Nu'u and sent [him back]. When the same, Old Man Širgü'etü, with his sons Alaγ and Naya'a, was come, he [12] said, "How [7r] [is it that ye] are come?" When Old Man Širgü'etü spake unto Činggis Qahan, he said, "When, seizing Taryutai Kiriltuγ, [we] were drawing nigh, saying, moreover, 'How could we make our proper *qan* to die before our eyes?,' not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him], we are come, saying, 'We shall give [our] might unto Činggis Qahan.'" At that, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "If [ye] were come, laying hand upon Taryutai your [7v] *qan*, ye would have caused yourselves to be beheaded with

[9] I. e., the sons and brothers of Taryutai.
[10] I. e., devotion.
[11] I. e., to kill.
[12] I. e., Činggis Qahan.

your seed—people which had laid hand upon their own proper *qun*. Your thought that [ye] were not able to forsake your own proper *qan* is right," he favored Naya'a.

§150 [8v] After that, J̌aqa Gambu of the Kereyid came for to be a companion unto Činggis Qahan, at the moment when [Činggis Qahan] was at [9r] Tersüd. At [the time when] he came, as the Merkid came for to fight, Činggis Qahan, J̌aqa Gambu, and others fought and made [them] to withdraw. Then the ten thousand Tübegen and the many Dongqayid[13] and the Kereyid people which had dispersed themselves, came submitting themselves unto Činggis Qahan. As for Ong Qahan[14] of the Kereyid, before, in the time of [9v] Yesügei Qa'an,[15] in[asmuch as] they lived together happily and peacefully, he declared [himself] *anda* with Yesügei Qan.[16] [As to] his reason for having declared [himself] *anda*, because Ong Qan had killed the younger brethren of Qurčaqus Buyiruγ Qan, his father, making a revolt against his paternal uncle, Gür Qan, being made to slip [into] Qara'un Qabčal, [10r] [only] a hundred men going out, as he came unto Yesügei Qan, Yesügei Qan receiving him unto himself, his own soldiers setting forth, because he drave Gür Qan toward Qašin and took and gave unto Ong Qan his people and folk, that they became *anda* [is] that.[17]

§151 [11r] After that, when Erke Qara, the younger brother of Ong Qan, was [to be] killed by his elder brother, Ong Qan, he fled away and submitted himself unto Inanča Qan of the Naiman. Inanča Qan sent troops, but Ong Qan, passing by three cities, betaking himself [thither] was gone unto Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad. From thence, making a revolt, having passed by [11v] the

[13] In §§ 170 and 171 below, these people are named the *Tümen Tübegen* and *Olon Dongqayid* respectively.

[14] This is the only instance in the *Secret History* in which *Ong Qan* is referred to as *Ong Qahan*.

[15] This is the only instance in the *Secret History* in which Yesügei is referred to as *Yesügei Qa'an*. Elsewhere he is referred to as *Yesügei* (e. g., §50), *Yesügei Ba'atur* (e. g., §50), and *Yesügei Qan* (e. g., §96).

[16] Allusion to this event has already been encountered in §§96 and 104 above.

[17] I. e., "That is the reason for which they became *anda*."

cities of the Uyiγud and of the Tangγud, seizing and together milking five goats and pricking the blood of a camel, having eaten [it],[18] as, being in a strait, he came to Lake Güse'ür, Činggis Qahan, by reason of the fact that beforetime [Ong Qan] had declared [himself] *anda* with Yesügei Qan,[19] having sent messengers, both Taγai Ba'atur and Sükegei J̌e'ün, from the head of the Kelüren [River], [12r] Činggis Qahan himself went toward [him]. Saying, "He is come, hungering and wasting away," for Ong Qan he levied levies and, suffering him to enter within [his] *güre'en*, [so] nourished [him]. That winter they journeyed in [parallel] ranks and Činggis Qahan wintered at Quba Qaya.

§152 [12v] Then, when the younger brethren of Ong Qan, the chiefs and others, spake unto one another, they said unto one another, [13r] "This *qan*, our elder brother, hath a poor nature and goeth, having a stinking liver in his bosom.[20] He hath made an end of [his] brethren. He hath also submitted himself unto the Qara Kidad. And he maketh the people to suffer. Now how shall we deal with him? If we speak of an early day, [we recall to mind that] the Merkid people ravished [him which was] seven years old and made [him] to wear a black, speckled kid [13v] coat and he beat a mortar of the Merkid in the Bu'ura Steppe of the Selengge [River]. As his father Qurčaqus Buyiruγ Qan, however, breaking the Merkid people, then came, saving his son, again, at the moment when again Aǰai Qan of the Tatar, ravishing [him which was] thirteen years old, together with [his] mother, was making [him] to herd his [14r] camels, having taken a shepherd of Aǰai Qan, he fled and is come [hither]. Again, after that, being afraid of the Naiman, he escaped and went unto Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad, in the land of the Sarta'ul at the Čui River. Then, one year not [yet] being ended, furthermore, removing in revolt, when he was going, passing by the lands of the Ui'ud and [14v] the Tang'ud, being in a strait, seizing and milking five goats and pricking and eating the blood of a camel, having an

[18] See also §§152 and 177 below.
[19] See §150 above.
[20] I. e., he is a man of a bad disposition.

only, blind yellow [21] horse with black mane and tail, as, being in a strait, he came unto [his] son [22] Temüjin, [Temüjin] levied levies and [so] nourished [him]. Now, [15r] forgetting the fact that he was so gone unto [his] son Temüjin, he goeth, having a stinking liver in his bosom. How shall we deal with [him]?" Altun Ašuγ reported unto Ong Qan the words which they had thus spoken unto one another. When Altun Ašuγ spake, saying, "And I also am entered into this counsel. However, I was not able to forsake thee, my Qan," then [15v] Ong Qan made one to seize his younger brethren and his chiefs such as El Qutur, Qulbari, and Arin Taisi, which had thus spoken unto one another. J̌aqa Gambu, fleeing from the younger brethren, submitted himself unto the Naiman. Making those to enter into [his] tent with fetters, when Ong Qan spake, having said, "At the moment when we were going forward by the lands of the Ui'ud and of the Tang'ud, what [16r] said we unto one another? How could I think as ye?," spitting in their faces, he made one to loose their fetters. When they were but spat upon by the *qan*, the people which were in [his] tent all arose and spat upon [them].

§153 [17r] Wintering that winter, [in] the autumn of the year of the dog [1202], Činggis Qahan set himself in array [at] Dalan Nemürges against the Ča'a'an Tatar, Alči Tatar, Duta'ud [Tatar],[23] and Aluqai Tatar—those Tatar—and, before joining battle, when Činggis Qahan spake an ordinance with [his soldiers],[24] he made an ordinance with [them], saying, [17v] "If we overcome the enemy, let us not tarry for spoil. When we shall have made an end of overcoming, that spoil shall be ours. We shall part [it] with one another. If we be made to withdraw ourselves by an enemy, let us return unto our place from whence we first rushed [forward]. We shall make [one] to behead the man which shall not have

[21] The word *qali'un* is glossed "yellow [horse] with black mane and tail." See Chapter III, note 42.

[22] See §96 above, wherein Temüjin declared that Ong Qan was like a father.

[23] The omission of the word *Tatar* was apparently inadvertent, for we find it in the text immediately below (5.18r3). Cf. also the *Altan tobči* (*nova*) which has *Dutaγid Tatar*. Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 115, l. 4.

[24] I. e., with their full consent.

returned unto [the place of] the first rushing [forward]." [18r] Joining battle [at] Dalan Nemürges, he made the Tatar to remove. Overcoming [them], making [them] to join themselves unto their nation at Ulqui Šilügeljid, he spoiled [them]. Then destroying the weighty peoples, the Čahan Tatar, Alči Tatar, Duta'ud Tatar, and Aluqai Tatar, [not keeping] to the words whereby they had spoken the ordinance with [Činggis Qahan], Altan, Qučar, and Daritai—[all] three—[18v] not keeping to the words, halted for spoil. Saying, "[Ye] have not kept to [your] words," sending both Jebe and Qubilai, he made them to take [from them] the herds and things which they had spoiled, [the things which] they had taken—everything.

§154 [19r] Making an end of destroying and spoiling the Tatar, saying, "How shall we deal with their nation and people?," Činggis Qahan, entering into a solitary tent with his kinsmen, counseled great counsel with [them]. When they were counseling one another, saying, "From days of old [19v] the Tatar people have been making an end of [our] grandfathers and fathers.

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital

of [our] grandfathers and fathers, let us, comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, destroy and slay [them] for [them].[25] Let us slay until we destroy [them]. Let us make slaves of those that shall have been left. Let us part [them] with one another severally," as, together making an end of [their] counsel, they went out from the tent, Yeke Čeren of the Tatar asked of Belgütei, saying, "What [20r] counsel have ye counseled one another?" When Belgütei spake, he said, "We have said unto one another that, comparing [your height] unto [that of] a linchpin, we would slay you all." At this word of Belgütei, Yeke Čeren made a proclamation unto his Tatar and made a fortress. When

[25] I. e., killing all those whose height exceeds that of the linchpin in the axletree of a cart. In other words, killing all except the little children.

our troops assayed to attack the Tatar which had made a fortress, they suffered great loss. Making, with labour, the Tatar which had made a fortress, to submit themselves, at the moment when, destroying [them], comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, they were slaying [them], when the Tatar spake unto one another, saying unto one another, "Each person putting a knife in his sleeve, let us die 'taking a pillow,'"[26] again [our soldiers] suffered great loss. And so making an end of slaying the Tatar, comparing [their height] unto [that of] a linchpin, then, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Because of the fact that Belgütei had revealed that we had together made an end of [21r] great counsel with our kinsmen, he made our soldiers to suffer great loss. After this, let Belgütei not enter into great counsel. Let him order [those] that are outside until we shall make an end of counsel. Having [so] ordered, let him judge quarrels and those of whom theft and lies [are] the deeds. When we shall have made an end of counsel, after we shall have drunk the *ötög*,[27] let both Belgütei and [21v] Da'aritai then enter."

§155 [22r] Then Činggis Qahan [22v] then took [to wife] Yesügen Qatun, daughter of Yeke Čeren of the Tatar. When she was loved [of Činggis Qahan], when Yesügen Qadun spake, she said, "If the Qahan favour [me], he will take care of [me], considering me a person and a thing [worthy to keep]. She who is named Yesüi, a sister older than I, is better than I. She is fit for a *qan*. Lately a son in law was come to be a son in law [for her].[28] Now who knoweth whither she is departed in this confusion?" At this word, when [23r] Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "If thine elder sister have been better than thou, I shall make [one] to seek [her]. If thine elder sister come, wilt thou withdraw thyself for [her]?" When Yesügen Qadun spake, she said, "If the Qahan favour [me], if I but see mine elder sister, I shall withdraw myself for mine

[26] See note 4 above.

[27] This word is glossed "wine which is offered."

[28] I.e., her husband who was the son-in-law of her father and mother and the brother-in-law of Yesügen Qatun.

elder sister." At this word, when Činggis Qahan, proclaiming a decree, [23v] made [one] to seek [her], our soldiers encountered her going in the woods together with the son in law to which she had been given. Her husband fled away. Then one brought Yesüi Qatun. Yesügen Qadun, having seen her elder sister, keeping to the words which she had spoken before, arising, making [her] to sit on her seat on which she had sat, she herself sat below. As she [29] was like unto [that which had been said of her in] [24r] the words of Yesügen Qatun, Činggis Qahan, suffering [her] to enter into his thoughts,[30] took Yesüi Qatun [to wife] and suffered her to sit in the row [of imperial wives].

§156 [24v] Making an end of spoiling the Tatar people, one day, when Činggis Qahan, sitting outside, was drinking together [with Yesüi Qadun and Yesügen Qadun], at the moment when he was sitting between both Yesüi Qadun and Yesügen Qadun and drinking together [with them], Yesüi Qadun [25r] sighed deeply. Then when Činggis Qahan, thinking within him, calling and making the chiefs Bo'orču, Muqali, and others to come, spake, he made a decree, saying, "Ye [31]—these people which have assembled themselves stand [ye] all tribe by tribe [32]—set [ye] apart the persons of a tribe other than your own." And so, as they [all] stood, each with his [25v] tribe, a young, good, elegant person stood apart from the tribes. As one said, "What [manner of] person art thou?," when that person spake, he said, "I am the son in law [33] unto whom was given the daughter named Yesüi of Yeke Čeren of the Tatar. When we were spoiled by the enemy, being afraid, I fled away, but saying, [26r] 'It is now become peaceable,' I am come and have been saying, 'Why should I be recognized among the many people?'" As one reported this word unto Činggis Qa'an, when he made a decree, he said, "The same, thinking

[29] I. e., Yesüi Qatun.

[30] I. e., affection. See also §66 above.

[31] I. e., Bo'orču, Muqali, and others.

[32] Although Činggis Qahan uses the imperative form of the second person plural, he really is not addressing himself directly to these people. He means: "Let these people, etc."

[33] I. e., of the father and mother of Yesüi.

[as] an enemy, was gone, becoming a robber. Now he is come for to espy what? We have compared [the height of] those that are like him unto [that of] a linchpin. Why should ye doubt? [34] Cast [ye him] away from [26v] the sight of [mine] eyes." And so he was beheaded.

§157 [27r] In the same year of the dog [1202], at the moment when Činggis Qahan set forth against the Tatar people, Ong Qan, setting forth against the Merki[d] people, pursuing Toγto'a Beki toward Barγuǰin Hollow, killing Tögüs Beki, the eldest son of Toγto'a, taking Qutuγtai and Ča'alun of Toγto'a, his two daughters, and [27v] his wives, spoiled his two sons, Qutu and Čila'un, together with [his] people, and gave not even aught unto Činggis Qa'an.

§158 [28r] After that, both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, setting forth against Buyiruγ Qan of the Güčügüd of the Naiman and arriving at the moment when he was at the Soqoγ Usun [35] of Uluγ Taγ, Buyiruγ Qan not being able to set himself in array, removed, passing over the Altai [Mountain]. Pursuing Buyiruγ Qan from the Soqoγ Usun, at the moment when, making [him] to pass over the Altai [Mountain], they continued to pursue [him] down along the Ürünggü [River] of Qum Šinggir,[36] his chief named [28v] Yedi Tubluγ, going as a spy, being pursued by our spies, as he was at the point to flee on the mountain, his belly strap being broken, then he was taken. Having pursued [him] down along the Ürünggü [River], overtaking [him] at Lake Kišil Baši, there they destroyed Buyiruγ Qan.

§159 [29r] At the moment when both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, returning from thence, were drawing nigh, Kögse'ü Sa[b]raγ, the [best] fighter [29v] of the Naiman, setting [his] soldiers in order at Bayidaraγ Belčir, was at the point to fight. Both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan, saying, "Let us fight," setting [their] soldiers in order, arrived, [but,] it being [already] become evening, saying, "Let us fight to morrow," passed the night on the [same] line.[37]

[34] I.e., "Why should ye hesitate?" See also §207.
[35] I.e., "Soqoγ Water (= River)."
[36] I.e., "Sand Headland" (in Turkish).
[37] See §151 above for a slightly different use of the term *jerge'er*.

Then Ong Qan, making one to light fires at his station, it being night, removed up along the Qara Se'ül [River].

§160 [30r] Then, when J̌amuγa went, removing together with Ong Qan, when [30v] J̌amuγa spake unto Ong Qan, he said, "Mine *anda*, Temüǰin, from afore hath had messengers unto the Naiman. Now he is not yet come. Qan, Qan, the *qayiruγana*[38] which remaineth is I. The *bildu'ur*[39] which returneth is mine *anda*. He is gone unto the Naiman. He hath remained behind, being at the point to submit himself [unto them]." At that word of J̌amuγa, when Gürin [31r] Ba'atur of the Ubčiγ spake, he said, "Flattering, why so speakest [thou], slandering and defaming thine upright brother?"

§161 [31v] Činggis Qahan, at night, passing the night even there, saying, "Let us fight," on the morrow, as, early, day dawned, when he looked at the station of Ong Qan, [saw that] he was no more [there]. Having said, "As for these, they look upon us as if we were burnt-offerings,"[40] Činggis Qahan, removing from thence, passing over by the mouth of the valley of Eter Altai, continuing to remove, [32r] pitched [at] the Sa'ari Steppe. From thence both Činggis Qahan and Qasar, perceiving the devices of the Naiman, did not count [them] as people [of worth].

§162 [32v] Kögse'ü Sa[b]raγ,[41] pursuing after Ong Qan, spoiling and taking the wives and sons of Senggüm together with the people and folk, returned, having spoiled and having taken half the people, herds, and food of Ong Qan which were at Telegetü Outlet. When, in that battle, the two sons of Toγto'a of the Merkid, Qutu and Čila'un, were there, having taken their people, [33r] separating themselves, they removed down along the Selengge [River], joining themselves unto their father.

§163 [33v] Being spoiled by Kögsegü Sabraγ, Ong Qan sent a

[38] This word is glossed: "small bird with white feathers."

[39] This word is glossed: "small bird which tells Heaven," i.e., the lark.

[40] I.e., "'food burned in sacrifice to the dead' and which no longer serves for anything." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [20], n. 14. See also §177 below.

[41] In the name *Kögse'ü Sabraγ*, *Kögse'ü ~ Kögsegü*. See, for example, §163 below.

messenger unto Činggis Qahan. When he sent the messenger, he sent, saying, "I have been spoiled by the Naiman [in respect of] my people and folk and my wives and sons. I have sent, requesting from my son thy 'four *külü'üd*.'[42] Let them save my people and folk for me." Činggis Qahan then, setting [his] soldiers in order, sent these his "four *külü'üd*," Bo'orču, Muqali, [34r] Boroγul, and Čila'un. Before these "four *külü'üd*" arrived, Senggüm being at the point to set himself in array at Hula'an Qud, the thigh of his horse being shot [by an arrow], at the moment when he was at the point to be taken, these "four *külü'üd*," being arrived and having saved [him], saved [34v] for him [his] people and folk and wives and sons—all [of them]. Then when Ong Qan spake, [35r] he said, "Aforetime I was delivered by his good father [in respect of] my people which were wholly departed like this. Now again, of my son, I have been saved [in respect of] my people which were wholly departed, my 'four *külü'üd*' being come.[43] Let the protection of Heaven and Earth know how I shall return the benefit."

§164 [35v] Again, when Ong Qan spake, saying, "Mine *anda*, Yesügei Ba'atur, once saved for me my people which was wholly

[42] I. e., Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroγul, and Čila'un. See immediately below. The word *külü'üd* (< *külügüd*), a plural in *-üd* of *külüg*, might be rendered "heroes."

[43] Although I have rendered the text as it stands, that it has been altered is clear from the observation made by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT in a letter dated 7 July 1954:

"There is a remark to be made in regard to the text *Edō'e basa kō'ün-ü'en odun baraγsan ūlus-i minu dörben külü'üd-iyen ireǰü aburaǰu ögtebe*. If one examine the continuous Chinese version of this passage, one sees that this version has been made on a text which must have been: *Edö'e basa kö'ün inu odun baraγsan ulus-i minu dörben külü'üd-iyen üleǰü aburaǰu ögtebe* ['Now again, his son, sending his four "heroes," has just saved my people which had completely departed, and, thanks to him, it has been given back to me'], a wording which the *Altan tobči* (*nova*) also supposes: *Edüge basa köbegün odun baraγsan ulus-i minu dörben külüg-üd-iyen [ilegeǰü] aburaǰu ögdebe* ['Now again, the son, (sending) his four "heroes," has just saved my people which had completely departed, and, thanks to him, it has been given back to me']. Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 122, ll. 6-7. It seems to me quite evident that the text of the Chinese transcription is altered. *Külü'üd-iyen ireǰü* of the Chinese transcription is inexplicable. That *kō'ün-ü'en* be separated from *dörben külü'üd* by the words *odun baraγsan ulus-i minu* is not explicable either."

departed. [His] son, Temüjin, again hath saved my people which were departed. [And] he hath given [them unto me]. When these, both father and son, [36r] assemble and give unto me the people which were entirely departed, on whose behalf do they suffer, assembling and giving [them]? I also now

Am waxed old.
When, waxing old,
I go out to the heights,[44]
I am become old.
When, becoming old,[45]
I go out to the cliffs,[46]
Who will govern my people?

My younger brethren are without virtue. Mine only son is as if I had none. Senggüm is alone.[47] Making [my] [36v] son Temüjin to be the elder brother of Senggüm, I would have two sons and would be at ease."[48] With Činggis Qahan, Ong Qan assembling himself in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River], they declared themselves father and son. [As for] the reason for which they declared themselves father and son—by the reason that beforetime in days of old Ong Qan had declared himself *anda* with the father [of Činggis Qahan], Yesügei Qan, [Činggis Qahan] [37r]

[44] I. e., "When I shall die." It was the custom to bury the deceased of rank on a height or a cliff. See also §§175, 201. For an interesting and, in some respects, parallel example in the *Ongγod qara sakiγusun teüke sudur bičig orosiba* [*The Book (Entitled) the History of the Black Guardian, the Ongγod, Has Taken Its Place (Herein)*] of the early 17th century in which it is told concerning a certain Ingdaqai, how, immediately upon the death of his aged father, "all by himself he laid the corpse on the top of a flat boulder at the southeastern declivity of the Red Cliff which towered up there all by itself," cf. Walther HEISSIG, "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century (Concluded)," *Anthropos* 48 (1953).493-536 (pp. 503-504).

[45] I. e., "something old which no longer serves any purpose."

[46] See note 44 above.

[47] This statement is contrary to historical fact, for the Nestorian Christian Kereyid Princess Dūqūz Xātūn (= Toγus Qatun) was, in the words of Rašīd al-Dīn, "fille de Ikou, fils d'Ong-khan." Cf. [E.] QUATREMÈRE, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* 1 (1836).94. Hence, we know that Ong Qan had at least two sons. Cf. also Paul PELLIOT et Louis HAMBIS, *op. cit.* 1 (1951).237.

[48] I. e., "I shall have no more solicitude on the subject of my succession."

saying that [Ong Qan was] like a father—such [was] the reason for which they declared themselves father and son.[49] When they spake words unto each other, they said unto each other, "When we hurl ourselves at the many enemies, let us hurl ourselves together in one place. When we hunt for the wild beasts, let us hunt together also in one place." Again, when both Činggis Qahan and Ong Qan spake unto each other, saying, "[Others] envying us twain,

If, by a serpent with teeth [37v],
We are provoked [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto [his] provocations.
Let us believe [only when] speaking unto each
other by teeth and mouth.[50]
If, by a serpent with fangs,
We are backbitten [into dissension],
Let us not accept his backbitings.
Let us believe [only when] verifying
by mouth and tongue," [51]

thus pledging [their] word, they were friendly unto each other.

§165 [38v] When Činggis Qahan, thinking, saying [unto himself], "[Over and] above [the fact that we are already] friendly, let us be doubly friendly," requested for Joči Ča'ur Beki, the younger sister of Senggüm, as he requested [her], saying, "I shall give in exchange unto Tusaqa, son of Senggüm, our Qojin Beki," then, when Senggüm spake, [39r] imagining himself to be [somebody] great, saying, "If a kinswoman of us went unto them, she would stand at the door and would only look upon the back [of the tent]. If a kinswoman of them came unto us, she would sit at the back [of the tent] and look upon the door," [52] imagining him-

[49] See §96 above.

[50] I. e., face to face. See §177 below.

[51] I. e., face to face. See §177 below.

[52] By this Senggüm means that, if his younger sister Ča'ur Beki were to marry Joči, she would be treated as a servant who sits just inside the door facing the place of honor at the back of the tent, but that, if Qojin Beki were to marry his son Tusaqa, she would be treated as a lady who sits in the place of honor at the back of the tent

self to be [somebody] great, speaking, despising us, not giving Ča'ur Beki [unto us], he did [39v] not love [our words].[53] At that word Činggis Qahan, within him, lost his affection for both Ong Qan and Nilqa Senggüm.

§166 [40r] J̌amuγa perceived that he had so lost his affection. [In] the spring of the year of the pig [1203], J̌amuγa, Altan, and Qučar [as well as] Süge'etei, To'oril, and Qači'un Beki of the Qardakid, Ebügeǰin, and Noyakin—being those—being with one accord, arising, departing, going unto Nilqa Senggüm at the back of J̌eǰe'er Heights at Berke Sands, when J̌amuγa spake slanderously, [40v] he said, "Mine *anda*, Temüǰin, hath messages and messengers unto Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is [yet] saying, 'father, son,' [but] his behaviour is other. Are ye [yet] relying upon [him]? If ye do not prevent him, how will it be for you? If [ye] set forth against *Anda* Temüǰin, [then] I shall enter with [you] from athwart." When both Altan and Qučar spake, [41r] they said, "[As for] the sons of Mother Hö'elün, we shall kill the eldest for [thee] and we shall forsake the youngest." When the Ebügeǰin, Noyakin, and Qarta'ad spake, they said, "For [thee]

We shall seize
His hands;
We shall seize
His feet."

When To'oril spake, he said, "It were best that we go and take the people of Temüǰin. If he be taken [in respect of] his people and if he be without people, [41v] what will those do?" When Qači'un Beki spake, saying, "If thou, Nilqa Senggüm, [my] son, think what[ever it may be], I shall arrive with [thee] at the extremity of [that which is] long and at the bottom of [that which is] deep."[54]

facing the door. Cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Expression *Dur-a Qočarulčaǰu* in the Letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11(1948).441-445 (p. 452, n. 11).

[53] See §§77 and 85 above and §167 below.

[54] See §199.

§167 [42r5] Being told these words, Nilqa Senggüm sent, speaking those words unto his father, unto [42v] Ong Qan, by Sayiqan Töde'en. Being told these words, when Ong Qan spake, saying, "Why are ye so thinking on my son, in [respect of] Temüjin? Until now [our] prop being by him,[55] now, then, if [we] so think evil in [respect of] my son, we shall not [43r] be loved by Heaven. J̌amuγa hath vain words. Is he speaking rightly? truly?," he did not love [56] [the words of Sayiqan Töde'en] and sent [him back to Nilqa Senggüm]. Again, when Senggüm sent, speaking, having sent, speaking back and forth, saying, "Whereas a man which hath a mouth and which hath a tongue be speaking, why is he not to be believed?," when, being in a strait, going by himself in person, he spake, he said, [43v] "Even in a time in which thou art [yet] so much alive, he [57] is not regarding us as even aught. And verily when thou, his father the *Qan*,

Will choke
On the 'white,'
Will gag
On the 'black,' [58]

will he suffer thy people which thy father Qurčaqus Buyiruγ Qan, with labour, assembled in so great a quantity to be governed by us? By whom and how will he suffer [them] to be governed?" [59] At that word, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "How shall I forsake my lad, my son? If, until now, [our] prop being by him,[60] [we] think evil, would it be fit? We shall not be loved by Heaven." At that word, his son, Nilqa Senggüm, being displeased, casting

[55] I.e., "he being our prop."

[56] See note 53 above.

[57] I.e., Činggis Qahan.

[58] I.e., "Will choke on liquid food (principally milk products), and will gag on solid food (principally meat)." For this explanation cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [76].

[59] "Senggüm means that, since Činggis evinces already so great a scorn for Ong Qan, although the latter is still in all his strength, it is to be feared that he may take his subjects from him, once Ong Qan will have attained to extreme old age, 'the time when one chokes in drinking milk products and obstructs the gullet in eating meat.'" Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [77].

[60] See note 55 above.

aside the [felt] door [of the tent], went out.[61] However, [44v] dealing sparingly with the affection of his son [62]—of Senggüm—calling [him], making [him] to return, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "[If we did that,] who knoweth whether we would [yet] be loved by Heaven? How say ye that ye will forsake [my] son?'[63] Do ye but as [ye] are able. Know [ye how ye shall do]."

§168 [45v] Then, when Senggüm spake, saying together [with Ong Qan], "The same, indeed, have requested our Ča'ur Beki. Now saying, 'Come [ye] for to eat the betrothal meal,' let us, appointing a day, inviting [them] and making [them] to come, then seize [them]," saying, "Yea!," making an agreement [with Ong Qan], he sent, saying, "We shall give Ča'ur Beki. Come [ye] for to eat [46r] the betrothal meal." Being invited, when Činggis Qahan drew nigh, ten men [in number], as, on the way, he passed the night in the tent of Father Münglig, then when Father Münglig spake, saying, "When we requested Ča'ur Beki, the same, indeed, despising us, would not have given [her unto us]. Now how contrariwise [64] have they invited [us] [46v] to eat the betrothal meal? Why contrariwise would people which imagine themselves to be great invite [us], saying, 'We shall give [her unto you]'? Is [their] thought right? true? Son, it is to be gone by thee, understanding [this]. Let us send in pretence, saying, 'It is become spring. Our herds of horses are lean. We shall nourish our herds of horses,'" not going [himself], sending both Buqatai and Kiratai, saying [unto them], [47r] "Eat [ye] the betrothal meal," Činggis Qahan returned from in the tent of Father Münglig. With the arriving of both Buqatai and Kiratai, [Senggüm and the others] said unto one another, "We have been felt.[65] Let us compass and seize [them] early to morrow."

§169 [47v] When [48r] Yeke Čeren, the younger brother of Altan, coming unto his tent, spake the fact that they had so taken a

[61] See §77 above.
[62] I. e., for fear of losing it.
[63] I. e., "How do you wish to kill my son?"
[64] I. e., "contrary to our expectations." See also Chapter VIII, note 48.
[65] I. e., "We have been suspected by him."

decision together, saying, "Let us so compass and seize [them]," he said, "We said unto one another, 'Let us seize Temüjin early to morrow.' The man which goeth, carrying this word as a message unto Temüjin, how will he fare?"[66] At the moment when he was so speaking, when his wife Alaγ Yid spake, [48v] she said, "What availeth that thy superfluous word? [I] fear lest people take [it] as true." At the moment when they were so speaking unto each other, their herdman Badai, coming for to bring the milk, heard this word and returned. Badai, departing, spake unto [his] companion, the herdman Kišiliγ, the words which [Yeke] Čeren had spoken. When Kišiliγ spake, saying, "I shall go again and perceive [whether it be so]," he went unto the tent. When the son of [Yeke] Čeren, [49r] Narin Ke'en, sitting outside, sitting, polishing his arrows, spake, he said, "What said we unto one another a little while ago?

We ought to have suffered our tongues to be
taken [to constrain us to silence.
Now] whose mouth shall we stay [from speaking]?"

Having so said, when Narin Ke'en again spake unto his herdman, unto Kišiliγ, he said, "Bring [from the pasture] and fetch both Merkidei Čaγa'an[67] and Aman Čaγa'an Ke'er.[68] Tying [them], early in the night [49v] we shall set forth." When Kišiliγ, departing, spake unto Badai, saying, "[I] have examined thy message of a little while ago. It was true. Now let us twain depart, carrying the message unto Temüjin," pledging unto each other [their] word, bringing [from the pasture] both Merkidei Čaγa'an and Aman Čaγa'an Ke'er, coming, tying [them], evening being come, killing one of their [50r] lambs in their tent, boiling [him] by means of [the wood of] their bed, riding both Merkidei Čaγa'an and Aman Čaγa'an Ke'er which they had tied ready, departing in the night, arriving unto Činggis Qahan at night, when the twain, Badai and Kišiliγ, spake north of [his] tent,[69] they wholly spake for

[66] I. e., "What good welcome would he not receive from Temüjin?"

[67] This is the name of a gelding, signifying, "The Merkid White."

[68] This is the name of a gelding, signifying, "The Bay with Black Mane and Tail and with a White Muzzle."

[69] Even though Činggis Qahan was inside his tent, he could, when so addressed, hear

him the words which Yeke Čeren had spoken, [the words] which his son, Narin Ke'en, sitting, polishing his [50v] arrows, had spoken —the words which he had said: " Bring [from the pasture] and tie the two geldings Merkidei Čaγa'an and Aman Čaγa'an Ke'er." Again when the twain, Badai and Kišiliγ, spake, they said, " If Činggis Qa'an favour [us], [we assure to him that] there is no doubt. They pledged [their] word, saying, ' Let us compass and seize [him].' "

perfectly what was said outside. See also §229 below. For a parallel instance in the Epic of Gilgamesh cf. André PARROT, *The Flood and Noah's Ark* (New York, 1955), p. [25].

Chapter VI

§170 [1r] Being so told, Činggis Qahan, believing the words of both Badai and Kišiliγ, having, [it being yet] night, then, sent the message unto the trusty who were in the neighbourhood, lightening [himself], having forsaken [all] his things, fleeing, [it being yet] night, then, removed. When he removed, [going his way] by the back of Mau Heights, at the back of [1v] Mau Heights, as he trusted J̌elme Qo'a of the Uriangqad, making him to be rearward guard at his rearward, and, placing watchmen, he removed. Continuing to remove, the next day, at noon, waiting until the sun was inclining itself, arriving [at] the Qalaqaljid Sands, he pitched to rest and to eat. At the moment when one was resting and eating, at the moment when [2r] Čigidei and Yadir, the keepers of the geldings of Alčidai, were going, each his own way, feeding their geldings in the green [pastures], they saw the dust of the enemy which was drawing nigh from the rearward, along the front of Mau Heights, passing by Hula'an Buruqad. Saying, "The enemy is arrived," they came, having driven their geldings before [them]. When, being told, "The enemy is arrived," one looked, beholding the dust [2v] along the front of Mau Heights and passing by Hula'an Buruqad, one said, "Ong Qan—that [one]—is drawing nigh, pursuing [us]." Then, Činggis Qahan, having seen the dust, having made one to bring his geldings [from the pastures], laded [them] and set forth. If, at that moment, one had not seen [the enemy approaching, one would have been taken unawares, because] one was unprepared. At that drawing nigh, J̌amuγa was drawing nigh, drawing nigh [3r] together with Ong Qan. Then Ong Qan asked of J̌amuγa. He asked, saying, "At [the side of my] son, Temüǰin, who are [those] such as will fight?" When J̌amuγa spake, he said, "There are there his people named the Uru'ud and the Mangγud. Those his people will fight.

Each time they turn,
[Their] ranks are proper.
Each time they turn,
[Their] order [3v] is proper.

Those [are] peoples which from childhood have been accustomed to swords and spears. Those are ones which have black and speckled standards. [They] are people against whom one should forewarn himself." At that word, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, we shall make our J̌irgin *ba'atud*[1] to rush against them, Qadaγ opposing [them], our J̌irgin *ba'atud*. As succourer [4r] of the J̌irgin, we shall make Ačiγ Širun of the Tümen Tübegen to rush against [them]. As succourers of the Tübegen, we shall make the Olon Dongqayid *ba'atud* to rush against [them]. As succourer of the Dongqayid, let Qori Šilemün Taisi, leading the thousand dayguards of [me], Ong Qan, rush against [them]. As succourers of the thousand dayguards, we, the great middle, shall rush against [them]." Again, when Ong Qan spake, he said, "Younger Brother [4v] J̌amuγa, order thou our army!" At that word, J̌amuγa going out, being alone apart, when he spake unto his companions, saying, "Ong Qan saith that I should order this his army. I have never been able to fight against [mine] *anda*. [Now] he saith that I should order this army. Ong Qan is [even] more yonder than I.[2] [5r] He is a companion which hath a measure.[3] I shall send in a message unto [mine] *anda*. Let [mine] *anda* be vigilant," when J̌amuγa, secretly sending a message unto Činggis Qahan, sent, speaking, he sent, saying, "Ong Qan hath asked of me. As he asked, saying, 'At [the side of my] son Temüǰin who are [those] such as will fight?,' when I spake, I spake in such a way that I placed first the Uru'ud and the Mangγud. At my [5v] word, they placed first his same J̌irgin and [then proceeded to] set [them] in order as the vanguards. They declared Ačiγ Širun of the Tümen Tübegen as succourer of the J̌irgin. [They

[1] The word *ba'atud* is a plural in *-d* of the word *ba'atur* "valiant man." See Chapter III, note 48 and note 61.

[2] I.e., "is even more incapable of it than I."

[3] I.e., "which is measurable," "of which the qualities are not out of the ordinary." See also Chapter X, note 61.

declared the Olon Dongqayid as succourers of the Tübegen.][4] They declared Qori Šilemün Taisi, captain of the thousand day-guards of Ong Qan, as succourer of the Dongqayid. He said, 'As succourer of him, likewise I shall stand with the great middle army of [me,] Ong Qan.' [6r] Again when Ong Qan speaketh, he speaketh, appointing me, saying, 'Younger Brother J̌amuγa, set thou this army in order.' If I perceive by this,-[I see that] he is a companion which hath a measure.[5] How would [he] be able to set his army in order? Beforetime I was never able to engage in battle with [mine] *anda*. Ong Qan is [even] more yonder than I.[6] *Anda*, be [thou] not afraid. Be [thou] vigilant."

§171 [7v] Having received this message, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "What sayest thou, Uncle J̌ürčedei of the Uru'ud? I shall make thee the vanguard." Before J̌ürčede[i] had uttered [his] voice, when Quyildar Sečen[7] of the Mangγud spake, he said, "I shall fight on behalf of [mine] *anda*. Let [mine] *anda* decide how one shall, long after, take care of mine orphan sons."[8] When [8r] J̌ürčedei spake, he said, "On behalf of Činggis Qahan we Uru'ud and Mangγud shall fight as the vanguard." Having so spoken, both J̌ürčedei and Quyildar, stood ordering [their armies], on behalf of Činggis Qahan, with their Uru'ud and Mangγud. With [their] standing, the enemy, making the J̌irgin the vanguard, arrived. With [their] coming, the Uru'ud and [8v] the Mangγud rushed against [them] and overcame the J̌irgin. At the moment when they went forward, overcoming [them], Ačiγ Širun of the Tümen Tübegen rushed [against them]. Rushing [against them] Ačiγ Širun pierced Quyildar and made [him] to light off [his horse]. The Mangγud returned over Quyildar. J̌ürčedei rushed [against

[4] The line *Tübegen-ü geǰige Olon Dongqayid-i ke'eldüba* was restored by Paul PELLIOT, *Histoire secrète*, p. 55. In the *Altan tobči* (*nova*) we find: *Tümegen-ü köbegün Ačin Sirun-u geǰi-ge Olan Dongkiyad-i kemeldübei*. "They declared the Olan Dongkiyad succourers of Ačin Sirun, son of Tümegen." Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 131, ll. 9-10.

[5] See note 3 above.

[6] See note 2 above.

[7] In the name *Quyildar Sečen, Quyildar ~ Quyuldar* in §130 above.

[8] For the decision, see §185 below.

them] with his Uru'ud and overcame the Tümen Tübegen. [9r] At the moment when he was going forward, overcoming [them] and making [them] to remove, the Olon Dongqayid rushed against [him]. Jürčedei, also overcame the Dongqayid. At the moment when, overcoming [them], he was going forward, Qori Šilemün Taisi rushed [against him] with a thousand dayguards. At the moment when Jürčedei, again, making Qori Šilemün Taisi to withdraw himself, was going forward, overcoming [him], as Senggüm, without [9v] leave from Ong Qan, began to rush against [him], [his] red cheek being shot by an arrow, Senggüm fell even there. Suffering the fall of Senggüm, the Kereyid all returned and stood over Senggüm.[9] Overcoming them, at the moment when the setting sun was smiting upon the hills, ours, returning, having taken Quyildar, [him] [10r] with wounds which was fallen, returned. Činggis Qahan and ours, separating themselves from Ong Qan—from the place where they had fought—removing in the evening, separating themselves, passed the night.

§172 [11r] Standing, passing the night, when, waiting until the day dawned, they mustered [the army], Öködei,[10] Boroγul, and Bo'orču—[all] three—were absent. When Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "With Öködei both the trusty Bo'orču and Boroγul have remained behind. Whether living or dying, how would [11v] those separate themselves?" Ours in the night, bringing in their geldings [from the pastures], had passed the night. When Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "If one come, pursuing from our rearward, we shall fight," he set in order [his soldiers] and stood [awaiting the enemy]. When, waiting until the day is become light, one looketh, [one seeth that] one man draweth nigh from the rearward. When, arriving, he came, [one saw that] it was Bo'orču. Having suffered Bo'orču to arrive and come, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Let Everlasting Heaven know," he smote his breast. When Bo'orču spake, he said, "At the moment when I was rushing [against the enemy], my horse being shot [by arrows]

[9] From this it seems that the Kereyid detachment, with Senggüm, must have already set forth to attack when Senggüm was hit.

[10] This is an alternate form of the more usual *Ögödei*.

so that he fell, at the moment when I went running on foot, [12v] in a respite in the same battle in which the Kereyid had returned and were standing over Senggüm, as for a laden horse which, having suffered his burden to incline itself to one side, was standing [there], cutting off his burden, riding on his *inggirčaγ*,[11] going out, going on, following the tracks along which ours had separated themselves and were gone out, finding [them], I am now come."

§173 [13r] Again, while there is [but] a moment, yet one man draweth nigh. At the moment when he, arriving, draweth nigh, he draweth nigh, his legs hanging below.[12] When one looketh, [one seeth that] he is like an only man. After that he was come, Boroγul, riding double behind Öködei, suffering blood to flow by the corners of [his] mouth, arrived. [As for] Öködei, the vein of his neck having been hit by an arrow, when his blood clotted, Boroγul, [14r] sucking [it] with his mouth, came, suffering the blood which had stopped [the opening of the wound] to flow by the corners [of his mouth]. Činggis Qahan, seeing [him], suffering the tears to flow from his eyes, [his] heart having been troubled, having made one quickly to kindle a fire, having made one to apply heat,[13] making one to seek drink for Öködei, making one to give [it unto him], said, "If the enemy come, we shall fight." [14r] When Boroγul spake, he said, "The dust of the enemy, [moving] yonder, by the front of Mau Heights, toward Hula'an Boruqad, [this] dust, rising in a long train, is departed yonder." At that word [of] Boroγul, saying, "If [the enemy] were come, we would have fought. [But,] if, [as now,] by the enemy, we are made to suffer the fact that, fleeing, he is removed, we shall reform our army and [15r] shall fight [again]," [Činggis Qahan] removed. When he removed, being removed up along the Ulqui Šilügeljid [River], he entered Dalan Nemürges.

§174 [15v] Then, from the rearward, Qada'an Daldurqan came, separating himself from his wife and [his] son. Coming, [16r] when

[11] I. e., a wooden saddle serving as pack-saddle for horses and oxen, without stirrups attached.

[12] Because he was sitting on the rump.

[13] I. e., having made the wound to be cauterized.

Qada'an Daldurqan spake, saying, "[These are] words of Ong Qan," he said, "Ong Qan, his son Senggüm being shot in the red cheek by an *učumaγ* [arrow] so that he fell, [the Kereyid] returning over him, then spake. As he said,

'At [a time] in which it seemeth [that we ought
to have asked ourselves,] "Shall
we stir [him] up?,"
We have stirred [him] up.
Provoking [him]
At [a time] in which it seemeth [that we ought
to have asked ourselves,] "Shall we
provoke [him]?,"
Alas! we have made one to nail
A nail
In the cheek of my son.[14] [16v]

We shall together rush [against them], seeking [to save] the life of [my] son,' at that, when Ačiγ Širun spake, he said, 'Qan, Qan, let [it] be![15] When we sought the son which was behind the back,[16] making *elbesün* [prayers] and *jalama* [prayers], we pray [Heaven], seeking [him], saying "*Abui! Babui!*" Let us, these, [now] take care of Senggüm the son which is already born. The more part of the Mongγol is here with Jamuγa and with Altan and Qučar at [the side of] us. The Mongγol which have revolted and are gone out with [17r] Temüjin, whither will those go? Those are

Ones which have beasts to ride [which are] horses;
Ones which have shelters [which are] trees.

If those come not, going, we shall fetch [them], putting [them] in the skirt [of our garment] like dried horse dung.' At this word of Ačiγ Širun, when Ong Qan spake, having said, 'Yea! If it be so, I fear that [my] son be weary. Take care of [my] son, not shaking [him, while carrying him],' returning, he withdrew from the place where one had fought."

[14] I. e., "We are responsible for the fact that he was shot by an *učumaγ* arrow."
[15] I. e., "Do thou not that!" (= "Assault thou not!")
[16] I. e., "which was not yet born." Cf. the continuous translation in the *YCPS* 6.17v5.

§175 [18r] Then, when Činggis Qahan removed from Dalan Nemürges along the Qalqa [River], he numbered the number [of his soldiers]. When he had numbered [them], [he knew that] there were two thousand six hundred. One thousand [18v] three hundred [in number], Činggis Qahan journeyed along the western side of the Qalqa [River]. One thousand three hundred [in number], the Uru'ud and the Mangγud journeyed along the eastern side of the Qalqa [River]. At the moment when they were so journeying and going forward, at the moment when they were going hunting for provision, at the moment when Quyildar was not yet healed of his wounds,[17] although he had been warned by Činggis Qahan, [19r] being unwilling [to cease to go forward], as he began to rush upon the wild beasts, [his wounds] opened again and he passed away. Then Činggis Qahan made one to place his bones at Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u of the Qalqa [River].[18]

§176 [19v] [Činggis Qahan], knowing that at the place where the Qalqa [River] poureth itself into Lake Buyur there were the Unggirad [chiefs] Terge, Amel,[19] and others, sent Jurčede[i] [unto them] with the Uru'ud. When he sent [him], as he had sent [him], saying, "If they say [unto themselves], 'The Unggirad people from [20r] days of old [have had their being not by the might of arms, but]

By the comeliness
Of the daughters of [their] daughters,
By the beauty
Of [their] daughters,'[20]

they will submit themselves. If the same say, 'Revolt!,'[21] we shall fight," they submitted themselves unto Jürčedei. As they had submitted themselves, Činggis Qahan touched not even aught of them.

§177 [20v] Then having made the Unggirad to submit themselves,

[17] See § 171 above.

[18] See Chapter V, note 38.

[19] The fracture of the vocalic harmony, as evident in the transcription of this name, is extraordinary. "*Amel* is probably to be read *Emel*." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [94], n. 89. See, however, *Amal* in §278 below.

[20] See §64.

[21] I. e., "We do not submit ourselves." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [94].

departing, pitching east of the Tüngge Stream, when Činggis Qahan caused a message to be carried [unto Ong Qan] [21r] by the twain, by Arqai Qasar and [by] Sügegei Je'ün,[22] when he spake, saying, "Speak unto my father the Qan, [saying,] 'We have pitched east of the Tüngge Stream. And its [23] grass is become good.[24] Our geldings have strengthened the joints [of their legs]," when he sent, saying, "My father the Qan, in [respect of] what grievance hast thou made me to be afraid? If thou must make [me] to be afraid, why makest thou not me to be afraid [so as, at least,] to suffer thy bad sons and thy bad daughters in law to have their fill of sleep? [25]

Bringing low the bench on which they sat *ding*,[26]
Dispersing the smoke which went upward [from the roof of their tents],

why hast thou made [them] so to be afraid? [27] My father the Qan,

Hast thou been pricked
By a person which is at the side?
Hast thou been stirred up
By a person which is in the way? [28]

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[22] See Chapter III, note 49.

[23] I. e., of the region east of the Tüngge Stream.

[24] I. e., abundant.

[25] For the explanation of this passage cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [96]-[97]: "By these words Činggis reproaches Ong Qan for frightening his family, whereas, if truly Ong Qan had reasons for complaining about him, he ought to have contented himself with frightening Činggis alone: 'If thou must frighten me, says he, why doest thou not it so as at least to let thy bad sons and thy bad daughters-in-law [97] sleep to their heart's content?' By the words 'thy bad sons and thy bad daughters-in-law' Činggis, who, in remembrance of the relations of *anda* which had existed between Ong Qan and Yesügei, treats the first as father, means all the members of his family and, quite specially, his own sons and daughters-in-law."

[26] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

"In case we should read *deng* (= *teng*) *sayuqui iseri*, I would translate: 'The bench on which they sat [all] at the same level.'" Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [97], n. 92.

[27] "If I understand the sentence well, Činggis asks Ong Qan why he has frightened 'his sons and his daughters-in-law' to such a point that they have taken flight, abandoning their tents, of which the movables fell into the hands of Ong Qan and letting go out their fire which, of a sudden, ceased sending up to the sky its column of smoke." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [97].

[28] See also §201 below.

My father the Qan, what said we twain unto each other? At the Hula'anu'ud Bolda'ud of [22r] Jorqal Qun spake we not unto each other? Said we not unto each other,

'If, by a serpent with teeth,
We are provoked [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto his provocations.
Let us believe [only when] verifying by teeth
and by mouth?' [79]

Now my father the Qan, hast thou separated thyself [only after] verifying by teeth and by mouth? Said we not unto each other,

'If, [22v] by a serpent with fangs,
We are backbitten [into dissension],
Let us not yield ourselves unto [his] backbitings.
Let us believe [only when] verifying by mouth
and by tongue'? [80]

Now my father the Qan hast thou separated thyself, [only when] verifying by mouth and by tongue? My father the Qan, although I be few [in number], I made [thee] not to seek [others who might be] many [in number]. Although [I] be bad, I made [thee] not to seek [others who might be] [23r] good.[81] If a cart having two shafts break its second shaft, its ox is not able to pull [it]. Am I not thy second shaft like that? If a cart having two wheels break its second wheel, it is not able to journey. [23v] Am I not thy second wheel like that? If we speak of the days of old, after thy father Qurčaqus Buyiruγ Qan, saying, '[I am] the eldest brother of forty sons,' thou didst become *qan*. After becoming *qan*, thou didst kill both Tai Temür Taisi and Buqa Temür, thy younger brethren. When thy younger brother Erke Qara was [at the point] to be killed, saving his life, going out, he escaped and submitted

[79] See §164 above.

[80] See §164 above.

[81] Činggis Qahan means by this: "It is true that my group is not numerous, but thou recognized in it just the same so great a value that thou didst not seek to ally thyself with a more numerous group. It is true that my qualities are not very eminent, but they appear to thee, however, such that thou soughtest not to ally thyself with another who had greater ones." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [100].

himself unto Inanča Bilge Qan [24r] of the Naiman. When, saying, 'He [82] is become the murderer of his younger brethren,' thine uncle, Gür Qan, setting forth, is come against thee, thou—a hundred men saving their lives—didst escape and fleeing down along the Selengge, thou didst slip [into] Qara'un Qabčal. Moreover, when thou didst go out from there, [thou] didst give thy daughter Huja'ur Üjin unto [24v] Toγto'a of the Merkid, [as a means of] 'presenting [thy] face,' [83] and, coming out from Qara'un Qabčal, as thou didst come unto my father Yesügei Qan, then, when [thou] didst speak, being told, 'Save my people for me from [mine] uncle, Gür Qan,' my father Yesügei Qan being come unto by thee so saying, leading both [25r] Γunan and Baqaji from the Tayiči'ud, saying, 'I shall save thy people for thee,' ordering [his] army, departing, pursuing, toward Qašin, Gür Qan—twenty [or] thirty men—who were at Γurban Telesüd, he saved thy people for thee. "Coming from thence, in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River], becoming [25v] *anda* together with my *qan* father, Yesügei Qan, then, Ong Qan, when [thou] didst speak, thanking my father, thou didst thank [him], saying, '[As to] the benefit of this thy service, let the protection of Heaven above and Earth [below] know how I shall return the benefit unto the seed of thy seed. After that, when Erge [84] Qara, requesting soldiers from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman, setting forth, came [26r] against thee, thou, forsaking thy people to save thy life—a few persons fleeing—went out and thou departed unto the Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad, at the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. Not enduring one year, again, going out, revolting from the Gür Qan, when, being in a strait, [thou] drewest nigh by the lands of the Ui'ud and of the Tang'ud, seizing five [26v] goats, milking [them], and eating [their milk], pricking and eating the blood of camels, thou art come with an only, blind, yellow horse with black mane and

[82] I. e., Ong Qan.

[83] For this interpretation of the word *ni'urqan* (*?ni'uryan*) I am deeply indebted to Dr. William HUNG, who, on 27 July 1951, interpreted the enigmatic Chinese gloss 通面皮 (*t'ung mien-p'i*) to mean "[gift of one person to another] to present the face." In view of this explanation, it seems that the words *ökin-iyen ni'urqan* (*?ni'uryan*) *öγčü* really mean: "giving his daughter as a gift of first audience."

[84] *Erge~Erke.*

tail.[85] Knowing that thou, the father the Qan, being so in a strait, wast coming and being mindful [of thee] because of the fact that beforetime thou didst declare thyself *anda* with my father, Yesügei Qan, having sent as messengers to meet [27r] thee both Taγai and Sükegei,[86] again, I myself departing from the Bürgi Escarpment of the Kelüren [River] to encounter [thee], we did meet each other at Lake Güse'ür. Saying that thou wast come, being in a strait, I, having levied levies and having given [them] unto thee, by reason of the fact that beforetime thou hadst together declared thyself *anda* unto my father, was that not the reason for which [27v] we two declared ourselves father and son in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula [River]?[87] That winter, suffering thee to enter within [my] *güre'en*, I did nourish [thee]. Wintering the winter, summering, in the autumn, setting forth against Toγto'a Beki of the Merkid people, fighting [28r] with [him at] Mürüče Se'ül of Qadiγliγ Niru'un, driving Toγto'a Beki toward Baryujin Hollow, spoiling the Merkid people, taking their many herds and *ordo* tents and their grains—all—, I gave [them] unto [my] father the Qan. [I] suffered not thy being become hungry to endure unto the middle of the day. I suffered not thy having wasted to endure unto the half of the moon. Again, we, driving Buyiruγ Qan of the Güčügür, making [him] to pass over the Altai from Soqoγ Usun of [28v] Uluγ Taγ, being gone down along the Ürünggü [River], destroyed [him] at Lake Kičil Baš. At the moment when, returning from thence, we were drawing nigh and at the moment when Kögse'ü Sabraγ of the Naiman was ordering his soldiers and setting himself in array [for battle] at Baidaraγ Belčir, as it was [already] become evening, as we passed the night, together setting [our soldiers] in order, saying, [29r] 'We shall fight early to morrow,' thou, my father the Qan, kindling fires at thy [battle] stations, thou didst remove in the night up along the Qara Se'ül. When [I] looked early on the morrow, [perceiving that,] as [thou] wast absent at thy [battle] station, thou wast removed, saying. 'These here look upon us as if we were burnt-offerings,[88] I also, removing, passing over by the valley of [29v] Eder Altai, coming [hither],

[85] See Chapter V, note 18.
[86] See Chapter III, note 49.
[87] See §151 above.
[88] See §161 above.

pitched at the Sa'ari Steppe. Then Kögse'ü Sabraγ pursuing thee, having taken the wives and sons, people and folk of Senggüm—all—as he went, spoiling the half of thy people, herds and food, of thy father the Qan, which were at Telegetü Outlet, when both Qudu and Čila'un, sons of Toγto'a of [30r] the Merkid were with thee, with all their people and households, in that battle, joining themselves unto their father, entering Baryujin [Hollow], revolting, they removed from thee. Then as thou, my father the Qan, art come, saying, 'I have been spoiled as to people and households by Kögse'ü Sabraγ of the Naiman. Come [thou], my son, giving [30v] thy "four *külü'üd*," ' not thinking like thee, then, when, ordering [them], I sent my soldiers with these my 'four *külü'üd*,' Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroγul, and Čila'un Ba'atur, before these my 'four *külü'üd*' [arrived], Senggüm being at the point to array himself [in battle] at Hula'an Qud, the thigh of his horse being shot [by an arrow], [31r] at the moment when he was at the point to be taken, these my 'four *külü'üd*' arrived and, having saved Senggüm, as they saved for him all the wives and sons together with people and households, then, my *qan* father, when [thou] didst speak, believing [me], thou didst say, 'My people and households which were wholly departed have been given [back] by Temüjin, my son, his "four *külü'üd*" coming and saving [them].' [31v] Now, my father the Qan, thou hast grieved in [respect of] what grievance of me? Send [thou] messengers in [respect of] the manner of [thy] grievance. When thou sendest [them], send both Qu[l]bari Quri and Idürgen. If [thou] send not both, send [thou] the second."

§178 [33v] At these words, when Ong Qan spake, saying, "*Ai! Soyiluγ!* [39] Shall I separate myself from my son? [That is what I have done, but in so doing] I have separated myself from the principle. Shall I stand aloof [from him]? [That is what I have done, but in so doing] I have stood aloof from [mine] obligations," [his] heart having been troubled, when he spake, swearing, saying, "Now, seeing my son, if [I] think evil, [34r] like this [I] shall be shed as to my blood," pricking the tip of his little finger with an

[39] These words, not glossed, seem to constitute an exclamation.

arrow-whittling knife, suffering the blood to flow, putting [it] in a little bucket of birch bark, he sent [them back], saying, "Give [this] unto my son."

§179 [34v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak [this] unto *Anda* J̌amuγa," he sent, saying, "Not being able to see [me],[40] thou hast made [me] to separate myself from my father the Qan. The one of us which rose up first was wont to drink [from] the blue goblet of the father the Qan.[41] When by me, upon rising up first, it was drunk, thou wast jealous. Now, empty [ye] the blue goblet of the father the Qan. How much more will ye consume?"[42] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak [this] unto Altan and Qučar," he sent, saying, "Ye twain, forsaking me, have ye said, 'We shall cast [him] away openly [breaking from him]' or have ye said, 'We shall cast [him] away after a covenant'? When, saying that [thou] art the son of Nekün Taisi, we said, 'Qučar, from [among] us[43] become thou *qan*,' thou wast not willing. When we said, 'Qutula Qan was governing [our people]. Inasmuch as thy father was governing [our people], thou, Altan, become thou *qan*,' thou also wast not willing. Saying, 'From [a generation] above [ye are] sons of Bartan Ba'atur,'[44] saying, 'Both Sača and Taiču, become [36r] ye *qad*,' I was not able [to convince them]. Saying unto you, 'Become [ye] *qad*,' I was not able [to convince you] and, it being said by you [unto me],

[40] I. e., "not being able to tolerate me."

[41] It would appear from this that Činggis Qahan, J̌amuγa, and Ong Qan had once lived together and that the first to get up in the morning drank from the blue goblet of Ong Qan.

[42] I. e., "Not much more." By this veiled threat Činggis Qahan implies that J̌amuγa will not have much longer in which to drink, because he will attack Ong Qan and Činggis Qahan.

[43] I. e., "me, Činggis Qahan, and you, Altan and Qučar, to whom I am speaking."

[44] This statement is clearly contradicted by that in §49 and that in §122 above. (See Chapter I, note 31, and Chapter III, note 53.) It is also contradicted by Rašīd al-Dīn. Cf. PELLIOT and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68, n. 23. Sača and Taiču were not the sons of Bartan Ba'atur, but the sons of Qutuγtu (~Sorqatu) Yürki (~J̌ürki), the son of Ökin Barqaγ, eldest son of Qabul Qan and elder brother of Bartan Ba'atur, the second son of Qabul Qan. Hence, the descendants of Ökin Barqaγ were the senior branch and, by birthright, took precedence of the descendants of Bartan Ba'atur, which, in this instance, were Činggis Qahan and Qučar, both grandsons of Bartan Ba'atur. Altan,

'Become thou *qan*,' I have been governing [our people]. If ye had become *qad* and if [I] had been made to ride against the many enemies as a scout, if [I] had been protected by Heaven, at the moment when [I] would have been spoiling the enemy,

Maidens comely of cheek,
Ladies and [36v] wives,
And geldings good of rump

I would have fetched and given [unto you].

If I had been made beforehand to compass
In [respect of] the wild beasts,
[As to] the wild beasts of the cliffs,
In such wise that the upper parts of their legs might become united together

I would have pressed [them] for [you].

[As to] the wild beasts of the escarpments,
In such wise that their thighs might become united together

I would have pressed [them] for [you].

[As to] the wild beasts of the steppes,

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too, as son of Qutula Qan, fourth son of Qabul, belonged to a junior branch. (See the genealogies in §§48-51.)

In a communication dated 6 September 1952 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked:

"In §179 we have to deal with an altered text. This alteration must have occurred rather early, since it was already present in the manuscript used by the authors of the continuous version, which was different from that of which the transcribers who put the Mongolian text into Chinese characters made use. The author of the *Secret History* cannot have worded his text in the manner in which we read it at present. He knew very well that Sača and Taiču were the sons, not of Bartan Ba'atur, second son of Qabul Qan, but of Qutuγtu (~Sorqatu) Yürki, who was son of Ökin Barqaγ, eldest son of Qabul Qan. He had, in effect, written it in §49 and in §122. The original text must then have been as follows: *De'ere-eče Qutuγtu* (or *Sorqatu*) *Yürki-yin kö'ün ke'eǰü, Sača Taiču qoyar-i ta qad boludqun ke'eǰü yadaba ǰe bi.* I translate this restored text in the following manner: 'Saying, "Among those [who, by birthright, are] above [us], they are the sons of Qutuγtu (or Sorqatu) Yürki," saying to Sača and Beki, both: "Become ye *qad*," I was not able [to convince them].'"

In such wise that their bellies might become united together [37r]

I would have pressed [them] for [you].[45] Now excellently be [ye] a companion for my father the Qan. I am afraid that ye are said to be negligent. Make ye not one to say, 'It was but the support of the *ča'ud quri* [which made them great men].'[46] Suffer ye not to be pitched by any one at the head of the Three Rivers."[47]

§180 [38r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak unto Younger Brother To'oril," [he said,] "The reason for which [I] say 'Younger Brother'—Oγda of both Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu came in captivity as a slave. The son of the slave Oγda was the slave [38v] Sübegei. The son of the slave Sübegei was Kököčü Kirsa'an. The son of Kököčü Kirsa'an was Yegei Qongtaγar.[48] The son of Yegei Qongtaγar [is] thou, To'oril. Of whom sayest thou continually in flattering that thou wilt give the peoples [unto Ong Qan]? Both Altan and Qučar will not [39r] suffer my people to be governed by any one—the reason for which [I] say that thou [art] 'Younger Brother' [is that thou art]

The slave of the threshold
Of my great great grandfather;

The private slave of the door
Of my great grandfather.[49]

Such [is the manner in which] I send, saying [this]."

§181 [39v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak unto *Anda* Senggüm," having said, "I am a son which was born with raiment.[50] Thou art a son which wast born naked. The father the Qan was wont to raise us both up [40r] equally. From the fact that thou [wast afraid that thou] mightest be supplanted

[45] See §128 above.

[46] I. e., "They were nothing by themselves without the support of the *ča'ud quri*, i. e., Činggis Qahan."

[47] I. e., the Kelüren, the Tula, and the Onon which issue from Mount Burqan Qaldun.

[48] *Yegei Qongtaγar*~*Jegei Qongdaqor* in §120 above.

[49] See §137 above and §211 below.

[50] I already had something on my body when I became the adopted son of Ong Qan.

[by me], *Anda* Senggüm, envying me, thou dravest [me] away. Now, not making the heart of our father the Qan to sorrow, evening and morning, going in and going out, go [thou], consoling [him]. Not putting away thine old thoughts [of jealousy], making [it] to sorrow, distract not the heart of our father the Qan, [40v] whilst the father the Qan is [yet] alive, saying, '[I] shall become *qan*,'" he sent, saying, "*Anda* Senggüm, send [thou] envoys unto me. When they come, send [thou] the companions of both Bilge Beki and Tödö'en." Saying, "When the messengers come unto me, father the Qan, send two messengers. *Anda* [41r] Senggüm, send [thou] also two messengers. *Anda* Jamuγa, send [thou] also two messengers. Altan, send [thou] also two messengers. Qučar, send [thou] also two messengers. Ačiγ Širun, send [thou] also two messengers. Qači'un send [thou] also two messengers," he sent, thus making these words to be carried as [41v] a message by both Arqai Qasar and Sügegi Je'ün. These words being thus spoken [unto him], when Senggüm, spake, he said, "When was he wont to say 'father the Qan'? Was he not wont to say 'old man killer'? When was he wont to call me *anda*? Was he not wont [42r] to say, 'The sorcerer Toγto'a walketh, having joined [unto himself] the tail of a Sartaγčin sheep.'?[51] The devices of these words have been perceived. They are the first words of fighting. Both Bilge Beki and Tödö'en, raise [ye] the standard proclaiming battle. Make [ye] one to fatten the geldings. There is no doubt."[52] And so at the moment when Arqai Qasar was returning from Ong Qan, the wives and children [42v] of Sügegei Je'ün were there at [the side of] To'oril. The heart to depart failing [him], Sügegei Je'ün fell behind from Arqai. Arqai came and spake these words unto Činggis Qahan.

§182 [43v] And so Činggis Qahan, being departed, pitched at Lake Baljuna. At the moment when he was pitching there, the Torulas of Čo'os Čahan encountered [him] even there. Those

[51] This must be an old saying containing an allusion which was perfectly clear at the time. The Sartaγčin sheep has an enormous tail which, sometimes, is so big that it is placed in a small cart. The shaman with a big sheep tail attached to his posterior would not be at ease. It is possible that this means that Senggüm wishes to do something which he cannot do, because it is beyond his capacity.

[52] I. e., "There is no reason to hesitate."

Torulas, not fighting, [44r] came to submit themselves. When, from Ala Quš Digid Quri of the Önggüd, Asan, a Sartaγ, having a white camel, driving a thousand wethers, drew nigh down along the Ergüne River for to buy sables and squirrels, at the moment when he was entering to water [his wethers at] Baljuna, he encountered [Činggis Qahan].

§183 [44v] At the moment when Činggis Qahan was watering [his beasts at] the same Baljuna, Qasar, casting away unto [45r] Ong Qan his wife and his three sons, Yegü, Yesüngge, and Tuqu, went out with his companions, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies. Saying, "[I shall seek] mine elder brother," seeking Činggis Qahan, climbing up the ridges of [Mount] Qara'un Jidun, not being able to find [him], being in a strait, being gone, eating raw skin and sinews, he joined unto Činggis Qahan at Baljuna. Having suffered Qasar to come, rejoicing, Činggis Qahan, taking counsel, saying, "I shall send messengers unto [45v] Ong Qan," when he sent, speaking by [means of] both Qali'udar of the Je'üri'ed and Čaqurqan of the Uriangqai, when he spake, saying, "Speak [ye] unto the father the Qan, saying, 'These are] words of Qasar,'" [53] [he said,] "Speak [ye], saying 'Qasar] hath sent [us] saying,

"Beholding mine elder brother,
I lost sight of him.
Tracking [him],
I could not find his way.
When I shouted, [46r]
My voice was not heard.[54]

Beholding the stars,
Being one having a pillow of earth,[55]

I lie down. My wife and sons are at [the side of] the father the Qan. If I obtain confidence and expectation, I shall go unto the

[53] I. e., "Pretend to be envoys of Qasar."

[54] See §56 above.

[55] The word *urbang*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. My tentative translation of it is based on that of the continuous translation (*YCPS* 6.47v2) where it appears to be rendered by the word 土 (*t'u*) "earth."

father the Qan.'' " When he spake again, saying, " We shall remove, straightway after you, and shall meet by appointment at Arqal Geügi [46v] of the Kelüren [River]. Come [ye] there," he appointed a place of meeting. And so having sent both Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, he sent [before] as spies both Jürčedei and Arqai [Qasar], and from Lake Baljuna Činggis Qahan, straightway, arising together with [his army], going out, [47r] by having set forth, arrived at Arqal Geügi of the Kelüren [River].

§184 [48r] Both Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, coming unto Ong Qan, saying, " [These are] words of Qasar," spake [unto him] the words which from hence [Činggis Qahan] had sent, saying. Ong Qan, having pitched the golden tent, was feasting unawares. When, at the word of both Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, Ong Qan spake, saying, " If it be so, let Qasar come," he sent [him] with [them],[56] saying, " I shall send [48v] Itürgen in which [Qasar] may have confidence. And so being come, with the arrival at the appointed place of meeting, at Arqal Geügi, seeing that the appearance [was] great,[57] the envoy Itürgen fled back. The horse of Qali'udar was swift. Qali'udar overtook [him], [but] the heart to seize [him] failing [him], at the moment when he was [49r] cutting off [the way] before and behind him, the horse of Čaqurqan was slow. At the extremity unto which an arrow arriveth from the rearward,[58] he shot so that [the arrow] lodged [at] the end of the rump of the black gelding of Itürgen, with the golden saddle. Then both Qali'udar and Čaqurqan seized Itürgen and brought [him] unto Činggis Qahan. Činggis Qahan, not talking unto [49v] Itürgen, said, " Go [ye], taking [him] unto Qasar! Let Qasar decide [how he shall deal with him]! " When they went, taking [him], Qasar, not talking unto Itürgen, even there cut [him] down and cast [him] away.

§185 [50r] When both Qali'udar and Čaqurqan spake unto Činggis Qahan, they said, [50v] " Ong Qan is unaware. Having pitched his golden tent, he feasteth. . . ? . .[59] in haste, making [the men]

[56] I. e., with Qali'udar and Čaqurqan.

[57] I. e., that there was a big camp with numerous tents, etc.

[58] I. e., " at an arrow's shot from the rear."

[59] The word *igülgüjü*, a *converbum imperfecti* in *-jü* of a verb *igülgü-*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

to march through the night, let us surprise and compass [him]." [Činggis Qahan], approving this word, making both Jürčedei and Arqai to be spies, having marched through the night, arriving, compassed [Ong Qan], at the moment when he was at the outlet of the Jer Qabčiγai of Jeje'er Heights. When it was fought [51r] three nights and three days, when they stood, compassing [the men of Ong Qan], the third day, being in a strait, the same [60] submitted themselves. It was not known in what manner both Ong Qan and Senggüm were gone out at night. This one which had fought [so long] was Qadaγ Ba'atur of the Jirgin. When Qadaγ Ba'atur, submitting himself, coming, spake, he said, " When we had fought three nights and [51v] three days, saying, 'How shall [I] suffer [one], seizing my proper *qan*, before mine eyes, to kill [him]?,' not being able to forsake [him], I fought, prolonging the strife, saying, 'Let him flee away, saving his life.' Now, if I be made to die, I shall die. If I be favoured by Činggis Qahan, I shall give [my] might [unto him.]" [61] When Činggis Qahan, [52r] approving the word of Qadaγ Ba'atur, made a decree, having said, " Is that not a man which fighteth, saying, 'As [I] am not able to forsake my proper *qan*, let him flee away, saving his life?' He is a person which may be regarded as a companion," favouring [him], not making him to die, he was pleased to make a decree, saying, " Because of the life of Quyildar, [52v] let Qadaγ Ba'atur and the hundred Jirgin give [their] might [62] unto the wife and sons of Quyildar. If boys be born, let them follow and give [their] might [63] unto the seed of the seed of Quyildar. If girls be born, let their parents not betroth [them] according to their own wishes. Let them serve before and behind the wife and son of Quyildar." Because Quyildar Sečen had beforetime opened [his] mouth [before Jürčedei], when Činggis Qahan was pleased to make a decree, he made a decree, saying, " Unto the seed of the seed of Quyildar, because of the service of Quyildar, let one receive the 'grant of orphans.'" [64]

[60] I. e., the men of Ong Qan.
[61] I. e., " I shall devote myself to him."
[62] I. e., " devote themselves."
[63] I. e., " devote themselves."
[64] See §171 above and §217 below.

Chapter VII

§186 [1r] Then bringing down the Kereyid people and severally parting [them], he let one spoil [them]. Because of the service of the Suldud Taγai Ba'atur, he gave [unto him] one hundred Jirgin. Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, [. . .].[1] [1v] [As to] Jaqa Gambu, the younger brother of Ong Qan, there were two daughters. When Činggis Qahan himself took Ibaqa Beki, the elder of them, he gave Sorqaγtani Beki, the younger, unto Tolui. By that reason, saying that Jaqa Gambu and the private slaves and people subject unto him wholly should be [2r] a second shaft [for himself], favouring [him], he did not suffer [one] to spoil [him].

§187 [2v] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Because of the service of both Badai and Kišiliγ, [I give unto them] the golden tent of Ong Qan such as it sitteth [there],[2] together with the golden flagons, and the people which took care of bowls and basins. Let the Ongqojid Kereyid become their guards. [With my] suffering [you] to carry quivers and suffering [you] to drink the *ötög*,[3] rejoice [ye] as freemen unto [3r] the seed of the seed.

> When [we] haste unto many enemies, when [ye] get spoil, as much as [ye] shall have gotten, take [ye it].[4]
> When [we] kill wild beasts, as many as [ye] shall have killed, take [ye them]."

Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Because both Badai and Kišiliγ [3v] made service to come

[1] There seems to be a lacuna, because what follows is not the text of the decree. This passage is not found in the *Altan tobči* (*nova*). The words *basa Činggis qahan jarliγ bolurun* are not rendered in the continuous Chinese translation (*YCPS* 7.2v4).

[2] The meaning is "such as it is with all its appurtenances."

[3] See Chapter V, note 27, for the word *ötög*.

[4] See §219 below.

between [my] life [and death], being protected by Everlasting Heaven, bringing down the Kereyid people, [I] have attained unto the throne of height. Long [here]after, [as] to the seed of the seed, let one, sitting on my throne, successively perceive those [6] who have done service [for me] like this." Spoiling the Kereyid [4r] people, they distributed [them] unto one another so that they were not wanting unto even anyone. Distributing the Tümen Tübe'en unto one another, they together took [them] until [the quantity] was enough [for each one]. They suffered one to plunder the many Dongqayid, not suffering [it] to attain unto a whole day.[6] They clave and parted the Jirgin *ba'atud* which had taken the bloody clothing, [but] [4v] were not able to bring [them] for every one.[7] So destroying the Kereyid people, that winter he [8] wintered at Abji'a Ködeger.

§188 [5r] Both Ong Qan and Senggüm, with [nothing other than] their bodies, revolting [9] and going out, being departed, [5v] as Ong Qan, thirsting, began to enter into the Nekün Usun [10] of Didig Saqal, he fell into [the hands of] Qori Sübeči, a watchman of the Naiman. Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan. When he said, "I am Ong Qan," not recognizing [him], he believed [him] not and then killed [him]. Senggüm, not entering into the Nekün Usun of Didig Saqal, betaking himself outside, entering into the Čöl,[11] when he sought water, Senggüm, lighting off [his horse], espied wild horses which, being bitten by gadflies, [6r] were standing [there].—The companion of Senggüm, the keeper of geldings, Kököčü, had his wife [with him]. With Senggüm they were three together.—He made his horse to be held by his keeper of geldings, Kököčü. The keeper of geldings, Kököčü, having led his gelding [by the tether], trotted back [home]. When his wife spake, saying,

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[6] I.e., "Badai and Kiliiγ."
[6] I.e., so quickly that it did not take a whole day in which to finish it.
[7] Is this an allusion to the episode in §136? If so, *Jirgin* is an error for *Jürkin*.
[8] I.e., Činggis Qahan.
[9] I.e., not wishing to submit themselves unto Činggis Qahan.
[10] I.e., the "Nekün Water (= River)."
[11] I.e., "Desert" (in Turkish and Mongolian).

"At the moment when [thou] wast wearing [raiment] having gold,
At the moment when [thou] wast eating [6v] [meats] having savour,

he[12] was wont to say, 'My Kököčü.' How art thou going, so forsaking and abandoning Senggüm, thy *qan*?," his wife, halting, stayed behind. When Kököčü spake, he said, "Thou art saying [unto thyself], 'I shall take Senggüm as husband.'" At that word, when his wife spake, she said, "I am said [by thee to deserve the saying]: 'A wife hath a dog [7r] face.'[13] Give [unto him] at least his golden cup. Let him at least draw and drink water." Then, the keeper of geldings, Kököčü, having cast behind [him][14] his golden cup, saying, "Take [it]!," trotted [away]. And so being come, the keeper of geldings, Kököčü, coming unto Činggis Qahan, saying, "I am come, [7v] so abandoning Senggüm in the Čöl," then, when he had wholly spoken for [Činggis Qahan] his words which he had spoken [with his wife]—all [of them]—, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, favouring his wife, saying, "The same keeper of geldings, Kököčü, is come thus forsaking his proper *qan*. Such a man now by whom, [8r] if he become a companion, will be trusted?," cut [him] down and abandoned [him].

§189 [9r] When Gürbesü, mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, spake, saying, "Ong Qan was an aged, great *qan* of old. Fetch [ye] his head. If it truly be [his], we shall sacrifice [unto it]," sending a messenger unto Qori Sübeči, making [him], after that he had [it] cut off, to fetch his head, recognizing [it], placing [it] on a white *toloγ*,[15] [9v] making the daughters in law to perform the rites of a daughter in law, making [one] to present the *ötög*, making [one] to play the *qu'ur*,[16] holding a bowl, sacrificed unto [it]. Then when the head was being so sacrificed unto, it laughed. Saying, "It hath laughed," Tayang Qan trampled [it] in pieces.

[12] I. e., Senggüm.
[13] For the epithet of "dog" given to an unfaithful wife, *cf.* Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [107]-[109].
[14] I. e., Senggüm.
[15] This word is glossed: "big felt carpet."
[16] A stringed instrument.

Then Kögse'ü Sabraγ spake. The head of the dead *qan*, [first] ye, indeed, cut off and fetch. Next ye, indeed, [10r] break [it] in pieces. How is it fit? The barking sound of our dogs is become bad."[17] Inanča Bilge Qan spake [beforetime]. He said, "[My] wife [is] young. I, [her] husband, am waxed old. We begot this Tayang by [our] *elbesü*.[18] *Ayi*! Can my *torluγ*[19] born son take care of and [10v] hold my *törülmiši*,[20] many, lowly, bad people? Now, [as to] the sound of the dogs, they bark a bark which signifieth [that evil] is near. The ordinances of Gürbesü, our Qadun, are become severe. *Torluγ* Tayang, my Qan, thou art weak. [Thou art] without thought and ability other than [those of] both falconing and hunting." Then when Tayang Qan spake, he said, "It is said that there are very few[21] Mongγol [in] [11r] this east. Those people by their quivers[22] made the aged, great Ong Qan of old to be afraid, made [him] to revolt, and made [him] to die. Now are those, the same, [not] saying, '[We] shall be *qan*'?, saying, 'Let there be on the Heaven luminous luminaries, both the sun and the moon.' [We acknowledge it. It is true that] there are [11v] both the sun and the moon. [But] on the earth how can there be two *qad*? Let us go and bring those Mongγol." At that, when his mother Gürbesü spake, she said, "What wilt thou do with those? The Mongγol people are ones whose scent [is] bad and whose clothing [is] dark. Let them be far apart. Perhaps, making [one] to bring their elegant [12r] daughters in law and daughters and making them to wash their hands, we

[17] That is, the sound is such that it foretells misfortune.

[18] The word *elbesü-'er* ("by [our] *elbesün*") is not glossed, but from the continuous translation (*YCPS* 7.12v5): 是我禱神生來的 ["(He) is one who was born through our prayers to the divinity"], it would appear to be an *instrumentalis* in *-'er* of a word *elbesü* (*n*) "prayer." See also *elbesün* in §174 above.

[19] The word *torluγ* is not glossed. Cf., however, the Ordos "*t'orlok* nom d'une plante qui croît dans les *nalar* (Hedysarum fructicosum L., d'après Potanin) | . . ." Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome deuxième (J-Ž), p. 671a.

[20] The word *törülmiši* [= *törülmiš*] is not glossed. It is Turkish. In a letter dated 19 August 1954, Professor Nicholas POPPE stated: "As for *törülmiš*, this should be considered as a verbal noun in *-miš* from *törül-*, a deverbal (passive) verb in *-l-* from *törü-* 'to bear, to be born.'"

[21] The word *čō'eked* is not glossed, but it obviously is the plural in *-d* of the word *čō'eken* which is found in §190 (*YCPS* 7.13v5) and §193 (*YCPS* 7.24v5).

[22] I. e., "by the sound of arrows rattling in the quivers." See also Chapter III, note 7.

might, perhaps, make [them] to milk our cows and sheep." At that, when Tayang Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, they are ones having what?[23] Let us go unto those Mongγol and, perhaps, bring their quivers."

§190 [13v] At these words, when Kögse'ü Sabraγ spake, he said, "*Ayi*! Ye speak great words! *Ayi*! *Torluγ*[24] Qan, are they fit? Lay [ye them] up." Having been warned by Kögse'ü Sabraγ, when [Tayang Qan] sent the messenger named Torbi Taši, speaking unto Ala Quš Digid Quri of the Önggüd, he sent, saying, [14r] "It is said that there are very few Mongγol [in] this east. Be thou [my] right hand. I shall join with [thee] from hence and we shall take the quivers of those few Mongγol." At that word, when Ala Quš Digid Quri spake in answer, having sent, saying, "I cannot be [thy] right hand," when Ala Quš Digid Quri sent, speaking unto [14v] Činggis Qahan by his messenger named Yoqunan, he sent, saying, "Tayang Qan of the Naiman cometh for to take thy quiver. He is come, saying that I should become [his] right hand. I am not [so] become. Now I have sent, making [one] to forewarn [this] unto thee. I am afraid that they will come and that thou wilt suffer thy quiver to be taken from thee." Even then, at the moment when Činggis Qahan [15r] was hunting at Teme'en Steppe and was compassing Tülkin Če'üd, the messenger Yoqunan which Ala Quš Digid had sent, came, bringing this message. At this message, as [the Mongγol], on the hunt, then, [15v] said unto one another, "How shall we do?," when many people spake, they said unto one another, "Our geldings are lean. Now what shall we do?" At that, when Odčigin Noyan spake, he said, "How can it be regarded [by us] as pretense, saying, 'The geldings [are] lean?' My geldings are fat. Hearing such words, how can [we] continue to sit?" Again, when Belgütei Noyan spake, he said, "If, when one is [yet] alive, he suffer his quiver to be taken by a 'companion,'[25] what [16r] advantage is it to have lived? For a man that was born, when he dieth, if he also lie with his quiver and [his] bow in one

[23] In a letter dated 31 August 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT interpreted these words to mean "'ones having what [in special which can render difficult their conquest]?'"

[24] See note 19 above.

[25] I. e., "enemy."

[and the same place] with [his] bones, is it not good? The Naiman people, saying that [it is] one of which the empire is great and one of which the people are many, is speaking great words. If we, relying on [26] these their great words, setting forth and going [to find them], take their quivers [from them] [16v], would it be [so] difficult? If we go [to find them], would their many herds, halting [to rest], perhaps, not remain behind? Would their *ordo* tents, becoming empty,[27] perhaps, not remain behind? Would their many people, perhaps, not go out to escape to high places? How can we continue to sit, suffering the same to speak these such big words? Let us, then, set forth!" [17r]

§191 [18r] Approving this word of Belgütei Noyan, Činggis Qahan, being come in from hunting, removing from Abǰiγa Köteger, pitching at Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u of the Qalqa [River], numbering his number, then dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, he then appointed the captains of thousands, the captains of hundreds, and the captains of tens. He then also [18v] appointed the stewards. He then appointed these six stewards: Dodai Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi, and Söyiketü Čerbi.[28] Making an end of dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, dividing [it] into hundreds so as to form hundreds, and dividing [it] into tens, so as to form tens, when he then [19r] chose and enrolled as guards eighty nightguards and seventy dayguards, when he enrolled the sons and the younger brethren of the captains of thousands and of hundreds and the sons and the younger brethren of only simple people,[29] he chose and enrolled those which had ability and whose body and appearance [were] good. Then, favouring Arqai Qasar, he made a decree, saying, "Let him choose *ba'atud* and make [of them a band of] a thousand. On days of battle, [19v] let them join battle, standing in front of me. On the many [30] days, let

[26] I. e., "taking advantage of."

[27] The word *e'üreǰü*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰü* of a verb *e'üre-*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. From the continuous translation, however, which has 空了 (*k'ung-le*) ("empty") (*YCPS* 6.17v4), it would appear to mean "becoming empty."

[28] I. e., "Steward" Dodai, "Steward" Doqolqu, etc.

[29] I. e., people who are not in government service.

[30] I. e., "ordinary."

them be my guards [which are] dayguards." He said, "Let Ögele Čerbi command the seventy dayguards. Take [ye] counsel with Qudus Qalčan."

§192 [20r] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Let the quiverbearers, [20v] the guards [which are] dayguards, the cooks, the keepers of doors, and the keepers of geldings take [their] turn [in] the day[time] and, before that the sun setteth, retire for the nightguards and, going out to their geldings, pass the night. Let the nightguards, at night, make to lie [those of] their [men] that shall lie round about the tent and make to stand in turn [those of] their [men] that shall stand at the door. Let the quiverbearers and the dayguards, [21r] the next day, when We take broth, tell unto the nightguards [that they are come] and [then] let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, the cooks, and the keepers of doors go each unto his [daily] task. Let them sit upon their seats. Let them,[31] completing their days of turn of three nights and three days and passing the three nights in the very same manner, [21v] changing [places with those who relieve them], be nightguards the night [which followeth their being relieved]. Let them pass the night lying round about." And so, making an end of dividing [the army] into thousands so as to form thousands, appointing stewards, enrolling eighty nightguards and seventy guards [which are] dayguards, choosing *ba'atud* for Qasar, when, from Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u of the Qalqa [River], he set forth [22r] against the Naiman people,

§193 the sixteenth [22v] day of the first moon of summer, on the "red circle" [day],[32] the year of the rat [1204], when [Činggis Qahan], having sprinkled the standard,[33] set forth, being gone up along the Kelüren [River], making J̌ebe and Qubilai to be spies, when he reached the Sa'ari Steppe, at the head of [Mount] Qangqarqan, the watchmen of the Naiman were there. [The Naiman watchmen] pursuing unto our watchmen, one from our watchmen

[31] I. e., "my guards (*keŝigten*)."
[32] See Chapter II, note 29.
[33] With mare's milk. See Chapter III, note 18.

—one which had a white horse and a rather bad saddle—was taken by the watchmen of the Naiman. When the watchmen [23r] of the Naiman, taking that horse, spake unto one another, they said unto one another, "The geldings of the Mongγol are lean." When ours, reaching the Sa'ari Steppe and halting there, said unto one another, "How shall we do?," then, when Dodai Čerbi gave advice unto Činggis Qahan, when he gave advice, saying, "We are, indeed, few [in number]. [Over and] above [the fact that we are] few [in number] we are come, [23v] being exhausted. Thus, indeed, halting, until our geldings be satiated, pitching, spreading ourselves in this Sa'ari Steppe, every person [be he] but alive lighting fires at [the rate of] five places a man, [we] shall terrify [them] by the fire. The Naiman people are said [to be] many. Their *qan* is called a weakling which is not [yet] come out from in his tent. [24r] While we confuse [them] by fire, our geldings, also will become satiated. Making our geldings to become satiated, having pursued the watchmen of the Naiman, if, following hard upon [them], making [them] to unite themselves at their middle, we join battle in that confusion, will it [not] do?," when, approving this word, Činggis Qahan made a decree, he proclaimed an ordinance unto the soldiers, saying, "So, then, make [ye one] to light [24v] fires." And so, pitching, spreading themselves in the Sa'ari Steppe, one made [every] man [were he] but alive to light fires at five places. At night the watchmen of the Naiman, from the head of [Mount] Qangqarqan, at night seeing the many fires, having sent unto Tayang Qan, [25r] saying, "Was one not saying that the Mongγol [are] very few [in number]? They have fires [which are] more than the stars," [34] giving [unto him] the little white horse which had the rather bad saddle, they sent, saying, "The soldiers of the Mongγol have pitched until the Sa'ari Steppe is covered. Are they not increasing on [each] day? They have fires [which are] more than the stars."

[34] Cf., e.g., Deuteronomy I §10: "The LORD your God hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye *are* this day as the stars of heaven for multitude"; and XXVIII §62: "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude; . . . ." Cf. also Nahum III §16: "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: . . . ."

§194 [26r] Receiving this message of the watchmen, Tayang Qan was at the Qačir Usun [35] of the Qangγai. Having suffered [one] to bring this message, when he sent, telling [it] unto his son Güčülüg Qan, he sent, saying, "The geldings of the Mongγol [26v] are lean. One saith, 'They have fires [which are] more than the stars.' [Hence] the Mongγol are many. Now,

If we join [battle] in earnest,
Will it [not] be difficult to separate ourselves [from them]?
If [we] join [battle] in earnest,
[They] will not wink [with] their black eyes—those.

If we join [battle] [27r]
With the hard Mongγol
Which draw not back,
[Even] if they are pierced
In the cheek;
[Even] if the black blood
Issue,
Will it do?

The geldings of the Mongγol are said [to be] lean. We, making our people to pass over the Altai and rolling [them] back, removing, reforming our army, marching, enticing them,[36] marching, fighting dogfights,[37] until we arrive [at] the foot of the Altai—our geldings are fat—making the bellies to be pulled up [38] and waiting until [27v] the geldings of the Mongγol be exhausted, we shall pour out [our army] at their faces." [39] At that word, when Güčülüg Qan spake, saying, "The woman Tayang of alway! When [his] heart hath failed [him], he hath spoken these words. The many of the Mongγol [of whom ye speak] would be come from whence?

[35] I. e., "Qačir Water (= River)."
[36] I. e., the Mongγol.
[37] I. e., "skirmishes."
[38] "This expression means 'to do so that the belly diminishes in volume.' The horses fattened in pasture cannot furnish violent and prolonged efforts without being spoiled. It is why the Mongols, during a certain number of days, let them graze only a very short time, until, rid of superfluous fat, they are in good form." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [115].
[39] I. e., "we shall deploy before them."

The more part of the Mongγol are with J̌amuγa here in [the hands of] us. When the heart of the woman Tayang

> Which is not yet gone out to the place where a woman [28r] heavy [with child] pisseth; [40]
> Which is not yet arrived at the pasture of the calf of the wheel [41]

failed [him], came he not, speaking these words?," he sent, speaking by a messenger till his father was pained, till he was injured. At this word, Tayang Qan being mentioned [by his son] in such a manner that he himself [28v] was compared unto a woman, when Tayang Qan spake, he said, "Let the mighty, courageous Güčülüg, the day when [the enemy and we] shall encounter one another and [when the enemy and we] shall kill one another, not put away, perhaps, this his courage. When, in earnest, [the enemy and we] shall have encountered one another and shall have joined [battle], to separate ourselves [from them] will, perhaps, be difficult." At that word, when [29r] Qori Sübeči, the great chief which governed under Tayang Qan, spake, having said, "Thy father Inanča Bilge Qan shewed not the back of man or the rump of gelding unto a companion [42] [which was] equal.[43] Now, thou, it having [yet] been the morning early,[44] how faileth [thee] thy heart, thou? If we had known that [thy] heart would thus fail thee, even though she be but a woman, would we, bringing Gürbesü, [29v] thy mother, not have made [her] to set the army in order? *Čima!* Alas! Why by Kögse'ü Sabraγ [must we be made] to suffer [the effect of his] waxing old? The ordinances of our army are become lax. It is the time and the destiny of the Mongγol. It is not be-

[40] I. e., "who has not yet gone so far from the tent as a pregnant woman who, because of her pregnancy, does not go any farther from the tent to urinate than is absolutely necessary."

[41] I. e., "who has not gone so far from the tent as the calf which, during the day, is tied to the wheel of a cart in the vicinity of the tent in order to prevent it from following its mother and sucking her milk, because a cow which has a calf is milked every day."

[42] I. e., enemy.

[43] I. e., "He never took flight." In other words, he was not a coward before his peers.

[44] I. e., "Whereas it is still long before the battle will be joined."

come [favourable for us]. *Ayil Turluγ* [45] Tayang, thou art but as if [thou] art not able," [30r] having struck his quiver,[46] he trotted elsewhere.

§195 [31r] At that, when Tayang Qan, being wroth, spake, saying, "A life which dieth and a body which suffereth [47] are one [and the same] for all. If it be so, let us fight," removing from the Qačir Usun, being gone down along the Tamir [River], passing over the Orqon, passing by the eastern skirt of [31v] Naqu Qun, at the moment when, arriving, he was drawing nigh [unto] Čakirma'ud, the watchmen of Činggis Qahan seeing [him], as they brought a message, saying, "The Naiman, arriving, draw nigh," having suffered [them] to bring this message, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, [32r] having said, "[The issue] will be adversities [either which are] more than many or [which are] fewer than few," [48] setting forth against them, having driven away their watchmen, when he set the army in order, he said, "Marching the '*qaraγana*' march, arraying ourselves in the 'lake' array, let us fight the 'chisel' fight." [49] Having so said, Činggis Qahan, going himself as a spy, made Qasar to set the middle in order. He made Odčigin Noyan to set [32v] the led horses in order. The Naiman, withdrawing themselves from Čakirma'ud, stood along the front of Naqu Qun and the skirt of the mountains. And so, our watchmen having driven before [them] the watchmen of the Naiman, having driven [them] before [them] so that they united themselves at their great middle [at] the front of Naqu Qun, arrived. [33r] Tayang Qan seeing that they were thus driving

[45] For this word, elsewhere transcribed *torluγ*, see note 19 above.

[46] I. e., in disgust.

[47] I. e., "A mortal life and a passible body."

[48] This seems to mean, "It is all or nothing," i. e., "We shall risk all."

[49] This is the only passage in *The Secret History* in which these three types of tactics are specifically mentioned by name: (1) "To march the '*qaraγana*' march," means to march with the troops massed in close order in the manner of the *qaraγana*, a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe. (2) "To array oneself in the 'lake' array" means to deploy with the troops widely scattered in the manner of the water of a lake which spreads over a large area. (3) "To fight the 'chisel' fight" means to engage the enemy with a thrust at his center in the manner of a chisel which is thrust into a piece of wood.

[his watchmen] before [them] and were arriving, [as to] J̌amuγa, then, with the Naiman, [his] army setting forth, being come with [them], being there, Tayang Qan asked of J̌amuγa. He asked, saying, "Those [are] what? [Even] as the wolves pursue the many sheep and come, pursuing [them] unto the folds, these what people, so pursuing, draw nigh?" When J̌amuγa spake, he said, [33v] "Mine *anda*, Temüǰin, hath been wont to nourish 'four dogs'[50] with the flesh of men and to bind [them], using chains of iron. Those who draw nigh, pursuing those our watchmen, are they. Those 'four dogs,'

Having helmets [which are] copper,
Having snouts [which are] chisels,
Having tongues [which are] awls,
Having hearts [which are] iron,
Having whips [which are] swords, [34r]

march, eating the dew and riding the wind—those.

On the days when [they and the enemy] kill one another
They eat the flesh of men—those.
On the days when [they and the enemy] encounter one another,
They take the flesh of human beings as their provision—those.

Have they, their chains being put off, now not been restrained? Rejoicing, they draw nigh, so drivelling—those." When he said, "Those 'four dogs,' who are those?," he said, "Both J̌ebe and Qubilai and both J̌elme and Sübe'etei are those four." When Tayang Qan spake, saying, "Let us stand far from those lowly creatures," moving backward, he stood, straddling the mountain [and the plain]. Seeing [those] who, skipping for joy and making circles, were drawing nigh behind them, again Tayang Qan [35r] asked of J̌amuγa. He asked, saying, "Those are what? How so draw those nigh, making circles as foals which one hath loosed early [in the morning], foals which, sucking the milk of their

[50] I.e., J̌ebe, Qubilai, J̌elme, and Sübe'etei. See immediately below.

mothers, run merrily round about their mothers?" When Jamuγa spake, he said, "Those are called the Uru'ud and the Mangγud,

Which, driving before [them]
The men with lances,
Strip [them of their] bloody clothing; [35v]
Which, pushing before [them],
The men with swords, cutting [them] down and killing [them],
Take [from them their] treasure and clothing.

Those now, rejoicing and skipping for joy, so draw those not nigh?" Then, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "If it be so, let us stand far from those lowly creatures," again, to the rearward, ascending [36r] the mountain, he stood. Saying, "Those who, pushing a point before [the others], draw nigh behind them,

Drivelling
Like falcons

which are become greedy of food, who are they who draw nigh?," Tayang Qan asked of Jamuγa. When Jamuγa spake, he said, "This [is] mine *anda*, Temüjin, which draweth nigh. [In the armour on] his whole body

There is no space betwixt to pierce for an awl [36v]
Which hath been cast
Of unwrought copper.
There is no space betwixt to pierce for a great needle
Which hath been hammered
Of iron.

Mine *anda*, Temüjin, draweth nigh like a falcon which is become greedy of food and drivelling. Have ye seen [him]? The Naiman companions were [doing nothing other] than [saying] that, if they [ever] saw the Mongγol, [37r] they would not leave [them even] the skin of the foot of a kid.[51] See ye [them now]." At this word, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "[It is] fearful! Let us, ascend-

[51] The goat (*imaγan*) is the animal which, with the Mongols, has the least value. Of the five kinds of livestock (*tabun qosiγu mal*), i. e., the horse (*morin*), the camel

ing the mountain, stand [there]," he ascended [the mountain] and stood [there]. Again, when Tayang Qan asked of Jamuγa, again [37v] he asked, saying, "Who are they who thickly draw nigh behind him?"[52] When Jamuγa spake, he said, "Mother Hö'elün was wont to nourish one of her sons with the flesh of men.

Having a body three *alda*[53] [in height],
Having as food cattle of three years old,
Wearing a breast-plate
Of three layers,
He draweth nigh, making three bulls to draw [his cart].
If he swallow
A man with a quiver—the whole [man]—[38r]
He will not be obstructed in his gullet.
If he swallow a whole man,
It satisfieth not [his] heart.[54]
If he be wroth,
If, drawing [his bow], he release his *angγu'a*[55] arrow,
He shooteth so as to pierce
Ten or twenty
People
Which are
Beyond
A mountain.
If, drawing [his bow], he release his *keyibüür*[56] arrow,
He shooteth so as to join[57] and [38v] so as to pierce
The companions[58] with which he hath quarrelled—
[Those] who are beyond
The steppe.

(*temegen*), the ox (*üker*), the sheep (*qonin*), and the goat (*imaγan*), it is the last in order. Consequently, the skin from the extremity of the foot of a kid (*esige*) is something which is almost less than nothing.

[52] I. e., Temüjin.

[53] An *alda*, properly, the span of the arms, is a measure of approximately six feet.

[54] I. e., "it does not satisfy his appetite."

[55] This word is glossed "name of [a kind of] arrow." It is an arrow with a forked tip.

[56] This word is glossed "name of [a kind of] arrow."

[57] I. e., to transfix, as on a spit.

[58] I. e., enemies.

If, drawing [his bow], in a great manner, he shoot,
He shooteth at a place [at a distance] of nine hundred *alda*,
If, pulling and drawing [his bow], he shoot,
He shooteth at a place [at a distance] of five hundred *alda*.
He is other [in countenance] than [all other] men.[59]
He is called J̌oči Qasar which was born a *gürelgü*[60] python.

He is that [one]." [39r] Then, when Tayang Qan spake, saying, "If it be so, let us strive for the height of the mountain. Ascend [ye] upward!," ascending the mountain, he stood [there]. Again, when Tayang Qan asked of J̌amuγa, he said, "Who are [those] who draw nigh behind him?" When J̌amuγa spake, he said, "That is Odčigin, the youngest son [39v] of Mother Hö'elün. He is said [to be one] which hath a [sluggish] liver.[61] [He is] one which sleepeth early and one which ariseth late.[62]

[Yet] even he remaineth not behind from the multitude.
[Yet] even he remaineth not behind from the [battle] array."

When Tayang Qan spake, he said, "If it be so, let us go up on the top of the mountain."

§196 [42r] J̌amuγa having thus spoken these words unto Tayang Qan, separating himself from the Naiman, going out, being alone,[63] when he sent, letting a message go in unto Činggis Qahan, when he sent, speaking, saying, "Speak unto the *anda*," he sent, saying, "Tayang Qan,

At my word,
Losing [his] head,
Striving for the heights,
Being terrified, is gone up. [42v]
Being killed

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[59] For a similar remark see §54 above.

[60] This word is glossed "name of a [kind of] python."

[61] I. e., "which is a sluggard." In the continuous translation (*YCPS* 7.41v3) the word *heligetü* ("having liver") is rendered 性懶 (*hsing lan*) "lazy by nature."

[62] Cf. Proverbs VI §9: "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?"

[63] See also §170 above for a similar episode, when J̌amuγa defected from Ong Qan.

By [my] mouth,[64]
Being afraid,
He is gone up,
Ascending
The mountain.

Anda, be [thou] prudent! The same are gone up into the mountain. These do not have the countenance [of daring] to set face against [thee]. As for me, I have separated myself from the Naiman." Činggis Qahan, the sun becoming evening, [43r] halted and passed the night compassing the mountain of Naqu Qun. That night, as the Naiman began to escape and to remove, tumbling down from on Naqu [Qun], heaping themselves up[65] the one on top of the other, their bones falling to pieces, they crushed one another so that they stood [like] rotten trees[66] and [thus] they died. On the morrow they made an end of Tayang Qan. [43v] Whereas Güčülüg Qan was elsewhere, when, removing, revolting, [being but] few persons [in number], he was overtaken, he made a *güre'en* at the Tamir [River]. Not being able to stand in that his *güre'en*, removing, fleeing away, he went out and departed. They assembled the nation of the Naiman people, making an end of [it], at the front of the Altai. The Jadaran, the Qatagin, [44r] the Salji'ud, the Dörben, the Tayiči'ud, the Unggirad and others which had been with Jamuγa also submitted themselves there. When Činggis Qahan, making [one] to bring Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang, spake, saying, "Wast thou not saying, 'The scent of the Mongγol [is] bad?'[67] Why art thou now come?," Činggis Qahan took [her to wife].

§197 [45r] In the autumn of the same year of the rat [1204] Činggis Qahan, setting himself in battle array with Toγto'a Beki

[64] For this expression, see also §§200 and 255 below.

[65] The word *qutaγlalduju*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ju* of *qutaγlaldu-*, the reciprocal form in *-ldu-* of a verb *qutaγla-*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. In his letter dated 31 August 1954, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT suggested: "*Qutaγlaldu-* could have the meaning of 'to heap themselves up.'" It is this meaning, therefore, that I have tentatively adopted here.

[66] Although the word *hunji'u* is not glossed, we find it used again in the same figure in §247 (*YCPS, Hsü* 1.2r5), where the gloss reads: "rotten trees."

[67] See §189 above.

of the Merkid at Qaradal Huǰa'ur, making Toγto'a to remove, spoiled his people and folk and nation in the Sa'ari Steppe. Toγto'a [45v] with his sons Qudu and Čila'un, [being but] few persons [in number], with [nothing other than their] bodies, fled away and went out. And so, when the Merkid people were spoiled, when Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkid drew nigh, taking his daughter, Qulan Qatun, saying, "I shall present her unto Činggis Qahan," being hindered by soldiers on the way, encountering Nayā Noyan [68] the Ba'arid, [46r] when Dayir Usun spake, he said, "I draw nigh, saying, 'I shall present this my daughter unto Činggis Qahan.'" Then, when Nayā Noyan spake, he detained [him], saying, "We shall present thy daughter together." When he detained [him], saying, "If thou go alone, on the way the soldiers will not suffer even thee to live in [this] time of trouble and [46v] thy daughter also will suffer trouble," he detained Dayir Usun three days and three nights. Then, with Qulan Qadun, having taken Dayir Usun, Nayā Noyan brought [them] together unto Činggis Qahan. Then, Činggis Qahan being greatly wroth, saying, "Why hast thou [47r] detained [her]?," at the moment when he was asking, saying, "Asking in a hard manner and in a minute manner, I shall make [it a matter of] ordinance," [69] when Qulan Qadun spake, she made [one] to report, saying, "Nayā spake. He warned [us], saying, 'I am a great chief of Činggis Qahan. We shall together present thy daughter unto the Qahan. On the way the soldiers will make trouble.' Now, if we had encountered soldiers other than [those of] Naya'a, would we [not] be entered into being gendered in trouble? [70] Peradventure our encountering this Naya'a was good. Now, instead of asking of Naya'a, if the Qahan favour [me], if he ask of the flesh [71] which, by the destiny of Heaven, [my] father and mother did beget, [he will find that it is perfect and entire]. When Naya'a was asked, he said, "A face of me other than [that devoted unto] the Qahan there is not. If I encounter

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[68] In the name *Nayā Noyan*, *Nayā ~ Naya'a*. See, for example, below.

[69] I. e., "I shall make a precedent which shall serve as law for the future." See also §§197 and 257 below for other instances of the application of the *jasaγ*.

[70] The anticipated answer is "Yes!"

[71] I. e., "the *pudenda muliebria*."

A maiden or lady fair of cheek,
A gelding good of rump

of a foreign people, I am saying, 'They are, indeed, [possessions] of my Qahan.' If there be [48v] a thought of me other than this, I shall die!" Činggis Qahan, approving the report of Qulan Qadun, when, on the same day, then, examining [her], he tried [her], finding [it] to be like [unto] the report of Qulan Qadun, Činggis Qahan was pleased to love Qulan Qadun. Finding [it] to be like [unto] the words of Naya'a, approving, saying, "He is [a man] which hath true words," he favoured [him], saying, "I shall commit great matters [unto him]."

Chapter VIII

§198 [1r] Spoiling the Merkid people, from both Tügei and Döregene, *qadund* of Qudu, the eldest son of Toγto'a Beki, [Činggis Qahan] then gave Döregene unto Ögödei Qahan. Half the people of the Merkid [1v] revolted and fortressed a fortress on the top of a mountain.[1] Then, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he sent Čimbai, son of Sorqan Šira, to be chief, making [him] to attack by [means of] the troops of the left hand the Merkid which had fortressed. Činggis Qahan pursuing [2r] Toγto'a, which, together with his sons Qudu and Čila'un, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies, was gone out, revolting, [Činggis Qahan] wintering at the front of the Altai, as, in the spring of the year of the ox [1205], he went, passing by the Arai,[2] Güčülüg Qan of the Naiman suffering [Činggis Qahan] to take his people, since, revolting, he was gone out—few [2v] persons [in number]—both [he and] Toγto'a of the Merkid, joining [forces], uniting themselves at the Buγdurma Fountain of the Erdis,[3] were setting their soldiers in order. As Činggis Qahan, arriving, stood in array, Toγto'a, being shot there by a stray arrow, is fallen. His sons, not being able to take his bones in hand,[4] not being able [3r] to take his body away, cut off his head and, taking [it], departed. Then, when the Naiman and the Merkid, uniting themselves together, not being able to stand in array, removed, escaping, when they

[1] Although the word *taiqal* is glossed "mountain-top" here and immediately below (8.4v4), it is, in both cases, rendered as a proper name in the continuous translation (*YCPS* 8.5r4 and 5v5).

[2] Although I transcribe this name as it appears in the text, it must be observed that, in his review, in the *T'oung Pao* 31 (1935).157-167, of Erich Haenisch's "Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod nach der ostasiatischen Überlieferung" in *Asia Major* 9 (1933).503-551, Paul Pelliot remarked (p. 159): "I shall show elsewhere that we must find here the name of the Alai, that which is not without interest for the itinerary of Gengis-khan."

[3] *Erdis ~ Erdiš* below.

[4] I.e., "not being able to bury him."

crossed the Erdiš [River], sinking [therein], they suffered their more part to die in the water. The Naiman and [3v] the Merkid which were gone out few [in number], after passing over the Erdis, removed, separating themselves. Güčülüg Qan of the Naiman, passing the Ui'urtai and the Qarlu'ud, went to join himself unto the Gür Qan of the Qara Kidad which were at the Čui River in the land of the Sarta'ul.[5] The Merkid [4r] having at their head Qudu, Qal,[6] and Čila'un, sons of Toγto'a of the Merkid, departed, passing [by] the Qanglin and the Kimča'ud. Then Činggis Qahan, returning, passing by the Arai,[7] pitched at the *a'uru'ud*. Čimbai destroyed the Merkid which had fortressed a fortress on the top of a mountain.[8] Then, [as to] the Merkid, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, suffering one to kill [those] of them [4v] whom one should kill, he suffered [those] of them who were left to be spoiled by the soldiers. Again the Merkid which aforetime had submitted themselves, revolting, arose from the *a'uru'ud*. Our servants which were in the *a'uru'ud* overcame those [which had so revolted]. Then, [5r] when Činggis Qahan made a decree, saying, "[We] had said, 'Let us suffer [them] to live as [an] entire [tribe].' But the same [Merkid] have revolted," he made one to part the Merkid, [distributing them] unto every quarter, to the point that he extinguished [them as an entire tribe].

§199 [6r] In the same year of the ox [1205], when Činggis Qahan made a decree, when he sent Sübe'etei—[him] with an iron cart[9] —making [him] to pursue the sons of Toγto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal, and Čila'un, when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, caused [one] to bear [6v] a message unto Sübe'etei, he made a decree, saying, "The sons of Toγto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal, and Čila'un, departing, being affrighted, returning, shooting, departed as [if] they were wild horses [each] having a pole with a noose [over his neck] or deer [each] having an arrow [in his body]. If those, becoming winged, flying, ascend unto Heaven, shalt thou,

[5] See also §177 above.
[6] The text has *Qad*. See, however, *Qal* in §199 below.
[7] See note 2 above.
[8] See note 1 above.
[9] See §236 below. See also note 21 below.

Sübe'etei, [7r] becoming a gerfalcon, flying, not seize them? If, becoming marmots, digging with their nails, they enter into the Earth, shalt thou, becoming an iron rod, boring, seeking [them], not overtake [them]? If, becoming fishes, they enter into the Tenggis Sea, shalt thou, Sübe'etei, becoming a net which is cast or a net which is dragged, catching and [7v] taking [them] up, not take [them]? Again, I have sent thee to pass high passes and to pass over broad rivers. Being mindful of the far [distances] of the land, spare [ye them], at the moment when the horses of the army are not yet wasted away. Husband [ye them], at the moment when [ye] have not yet finished your provision. If a gelding be [already] wholly wasted away, if [ye] spare [him], it will [8r] not do.[10] If [ye] have [already] wholly finished the provision, if [ye] husband [him], it will not do. The wild beasts on your way are many. At the moment when ye go, mindful of that which is beyond, suffer [ye] not the men of the army to gallop unto the wild beasts. Hunt [ye] not without limit. If [ye] hunt, saying, [8v] 'Let there be increase and addition in provision for the men of the army,' hunt [ye], limiting [the hunting]. Suffer [thou one] not to crupper the crupper of the saddle of a man of the army apart from limited [11] huntings. Let one, not putting on the bridle, go [forward], leaving the bit out of the mouth.[12] If, so ordering themselves, they go [forward], how will the men of the army be able to gallop? [13] [9r] Thus making [it a matter of] ordinance, then, let one seize and beat [those] who shall have transgressed the ordinance. Come [ye], giving unto Us those who shall have transgressed Our decree—the ones which are such as to be known by

[10] I. e., "it is useless, one can not mount it any more." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [107].

[11] I. e., limited by order of the commanding general.

[12] I. e., leaving it so that it hangs under the chin.

[13] In a letter dated 5 October 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked:

"Činggis means that in this manner the soldiers will not be able to gallop their horses, because, if they gallop their horses without having shackled the mouth with the bit, the horses can not be directed or mastered, and if they gallop their horses without having put on the crupper, they will not be able to go down a slope on the gallop, because the saddle being no longer held at the back will slip forward and the rider will fall from his mount. The aim of Činggis is to render all galloping impossible while the soldiers are en route, in order that they do not uselessly fatigue their mounts."

Us. Cause [ye], then, [one] to behead even there [in the field] the many [ones] which are not [such as] to be known by Us.

Beyond the rivers
Ye will separate yourselves.
Go [ye, then,] [9v] in the same manner.

Beyond the mountains
Ye will divide yourselves.
Think [ye, then,] not of [aught] apart [from]
and other [than your task].[14]

If, might and power being increased by Everlasting Heaven, [ye] make to enter into your hands the sons of Toγto'a, [to go] so far as to bring [them], what is it?[15] Forsake ye[16] [them] there." Again when Činggis Qahan spake [10r] unto Sübe'etei, saying, "When I make thee [now] to go a warfare, [I do so because] in my childhood by the Uduyid of the Three Merkid which made [me] thrice to go round about Burqan Qaldun[17] I was made to be afraid. Such hating[18] people—now again, loosing mouth and tongue[19] [not to submit themselves unto me], they are departed —may [thou] meet at the extremity of [that which is] [10v] long and at the bottom of [that which is] deep,"[20] making [him] to pursue [them], making [him] to go to the extremity, beating out an iron cart,[21] he made him to go a warfare in the year of the ox [1205]. He made a decree, saying, "If [ye] go, thinking that, even if We be out of [your] sight, [it will be] as if [We were] visible and, even

[14] "Činggis means: 'If in the course of the expedition it happens that you are obliged to march in several columns, let each corps of troops observe the same prescriptions which I have just given for the whole army and think only of faithfully fulfilling the mission with which it is charged.'" Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [125], n. 118.

[15] I. e., "What reason would there be to bring them?" Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [125].

[16] I. e., "kill them."

[17] See §103.

[18] I. e., "which have hate for me."

[19] I. e., "making a solemn promise," "swearing an oath."

[20] See §166 above.

[21] Cf. Joshua XVII §18: "for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have iron chariots, *and* though they *be* strong."

if [We] be far, [it will be] as if [We were] near, ye [11r] shall also be protected by Heaven above."

§200 [12r] When [Činggis Qahan] had made an end of destroying the Naiman and the Merkid, when Jamuγa was with the Naiman, as his people was taken there, the same becoming a robber having five companions, ascending on [Mount] Tanglu, killing a moufflon, roasting [it], when they ate [it], then Jamuγa spake unto his companions. He said, "The sons of whom, [12v] killing this day a moufflon, eat thus [as ye]?"[22] Whilst they were eating the flesh of that moufflon, his five companions, laying hand upon Jamuγa, seized and brought [him] unto Činggis Qahan. As Jamuγa, being come unto and seized by his companions, spake, saying, "Say unto [mine] *anda*, the Qahan,

'Black crows
Are come [13r] to take a *qarambai*[23] duck,
Commoners and slaves
Are come to lay hand
Upon their *qan*.
Why would mine *anda*, the Qahan, err?[24]

Brown buzzards
Are come to take a *borčin sono*.[25]
Slaves and servants,
Compassing [him] and conspiring [against him],
are come to take
Their proper lord.
Why would my holy *anda* err?,'"

at that word [13v] of Jamuγa, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "How shall one suffer to live persons

[22] "Jamuγa means: 'Esteem yourselves happy to be able to eat moufflon meat, whereas so many people must content themselves with a food less exquisite.'" Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [126].

[23] This term, not elsewhere attested, is glossed: "name of a [kind of] black duck."

[24] "Jamuγa means: 'I am sure that my *anda*, the Qahan, will not be mistaken on the nature of the crime which my 'companions' have just committed in betraying me, me, their legitimate lord, and that he will punish them promptly.'" Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [127].

[25] This term is glossed: "name of a [kind of] duck."

which have laid hand upon their proper *qan*? Such persons shall be companions unto whom? Make [ye one] to behead unto their seed the people which did lay hand upon their proper *qan*!" In the presence of [14r] the same J̌amuγa he made [one] to behead for [him] the people which had laid hand upon him. When Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Speak unto J̌amuγa," as he spake, saying, "Now we twain have united ourselves. Let us be companions. As we are together becoming [each of us] one of two shafts of a cart, thou thinkest of severing thyself and [14v] [of] separating thyself [from me]. Now, being together in one [and the same place],

Let us be the one and the other making to remember our
[one] which shall have forgotten
And [let us be] the one and the other making to awake
our [one] which shall be fallen asleep.[26]

Though [thou] wert gone elsewhere apart,
[Thou] wast my fortunate and happy *anda*.
Verily the day when [in the field] the one died
with the other
Thou [15r] wast pained as to thy bosom and heart.

Though [thou] wert gone apart elsewhere,
The day when [in the field] the one killed the other
Thou wast pained as to thy lungs and heart.

If [thou] say, 'When?,' [the answer is,] at the moment when I was fighting with the Kereyid people at the Qalaqaljid Sands,[27] [15v] having sent [unto me], making [me] to be aware of thy words which [thou] hadst spoken unto Father Ong Qan, was thy service [which thou didst for me]. Again thy having sent [unto me] a message, [reporting] that thou hadst made the Naiman people to be afraid,

Making [them] to die
By [thy] words,
Killing [them]
By [thy] mouth [28]

[26] See §§255 and 272 below.
[27] See §170 above.
[28] See §198 above.

—saying, ' May thou regard [it] as such '[79]—was a service [which thou didst for me],"

§201 [16v] when J̌amuγa spake, as he spake, saying, " [At] an early day, at the time [when we were] little,[80] when [I] declared myself *anda* [17r] with [mine] *anda*, the Qan, at Qorqonaγ Valley,[81]

Together eating food which one digesteth not,
Speaking unto each other words which one forgetteth not,

we were [at night] in our covering, dividing [it] with each other.

Being stirred up
By [persons] which were in the way,
Being pricked
By [persons] which were at the side,[82]
We wholly separated ourselves.
Saying [unto myself], ' We have spoken weighty words unto each other,'
From the fact that my black face
Had been flayed [from shame],
Not being able[83] to approach,
I am gone not being able [again] to see the warm[84] face
Of mine *anda*, the Qan.
Saying [unto myself], ' We have spoken unto each other words which one forgetteth not,'
From the fact that my red face
Had been peeled [from shame], [18r]
I am gone, not being able [again] to see the true face
Of mine *anda* with a long memory.

Now mine *anda*, the Qan, hath favoured [me] and hath said [unto me], ' Let us be companions.' At the time in which I should have been [his] companion, I was not together a companion. Now, [mine] *anda*,

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[79] I. e., " as dead from fear." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [122].
[80] I. e., " in our childhood."
[81] See §§116-117 above.
[82] See §177 above.
[83] I. e., " no longer daring."
[84] I. e., " sympathetic."

[Thou] hast pacified
All the nations.
Thou hast united
Every foreign realm.

The throne of *qan* hath betaken itself unto thee. In[asmuch as] the world is now become [18v] ready [for thee], were [I] a companion, [of] what service would I be [for thee]? Yet, of [thee, mine] *anda*,

I shall enter into thy dreams of the black night;
I shall trouble thy thoughts of the bright day.[35]

I shall become

A louse of thy collar,
A thorn of thine inner lapel.

I have had many paternal grandmothers.[36] Beginning to think of [attaining unto] [19r] that which is beyond [mine] *anda*, I committed an error. Now, in this life—[that] of the twain, [mine] *anda* and us [37]—my name hath reached from the sun which riseth unto the sun which setteth.[38] [Mine] *anda* hath a wise mother. Being born a *külüg* by birth, he hath skilful younger brethren. As he was at [the side of] his valiant [19v] companions and with his seventy and three geldings,[39] [I] have been excelled by [mine] *anda*. As for me, being bereaved, [whilst yet] little, of mother and father, [I was] without younger brethren.[40] My wife [is] a babbler. [I] had companions [which were] unworthy of confidence. Because of that, [20r]

[35] See Chapter IX, §219.

[36] In his letter of 5 October 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: ". . . Jamuγa had lost his father and his mother when he was still quite young (*eke ečige-deče üčügen qočorču*) and he must have been reared by the wives of his grandfather, his paternal grandmothers."

[37] I. e., me.

[38] See also §260 below.

[39] This allusion is obscure. There is no reference to these geldings elsewhere in the *Secret History*.

[40] This seems to be contradicted, however, by §128 (and §129), where we read: "when Taičar, the younger brother of Jamuγa, was at Ölegei Spring, etc." PELLIOT and HAMBIS, *op. cit.*, p. 30, have proposed a solution of the difficulty: "As to the quality of 'younger brother' of Jamuqa indicated for Taičar by the §§128 and 129 of the *Secret History*, whereas in the §201 the same Jamuqa says not to have had any 'younger brothers,' it must not be forgotten that in this latter passage Jamuqa speaks of 'brothers' in the strict sense, instead of which in the other two it can be a

[I] have been excelled by [mine] *anda* having [his] destiny from Heaven. If [thou, mine] *anda*, favour me, if [thou] make me to pass away swiftly, *anda*, thou wilt be at peace as to thy heart. When [thou, mine] *anda*, favouring [me], shalt make [one] to kill [me], make [one] to kill [me], not shedding [my] blood.[41] When I shall die and shall lie [in my grave], my dead bones—in a high place [42] for ever and ever [I] shall offer protection unto the seed of [20v] thy seed—I shall become a prayer. [By] origin I have a nature other [than that of mine *anda*]. I have been crushed by the majesty of [mine] *anda* with a nature more than plenteous [in excellence]. Not forgetting my words which [I] have [now] spoken, remembering [them] evening and morning, ye will speak [them] unto one another. Now let [mine *anda*] dispatch [21r] me," [43] at these his words, when Činggis Qahan spake, having said, "Though mine *anda* be gone apart [from me], (while he hath been] talking in mouthfuls against Us, it hath not yet been heard that he thinketh of [44] harm for [Our] life. [He] is a man from which [something] might be learned. [However, as for him,] it will not do, [because he is not willing]. If I say, 'Let us cause [him] to die,' it would not come into the divination.[45] If I do harm to [his] life without reason, it would not be fit. [He] is a man having a grave way.[46] Ye might speak [unto him] this his reason. May ye speak, saying, 'Formerly, because both Čoǰi Darmala and Taičar had robbed their herds of horses from one another,[47] *Anda* [22r] J̌amuγa, thou, contrariwise,[48] coming, plotting rebellion, joining battle at Dalan Baljud, making me to flee for refuge unto the J̌erene [49] Narrows,

question, following the Mongolian practice, of cousins even rather distant, and even of people to whom one gives by affection the name of 'younger brother' even when they are not of your relatives."

[41] Because of his noble origin.

[42] See Chapter V, note 44.

[43] I. e., "make me promptly to die." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [244], n. 228.

[44] I. e., "is plotting."

[45] I. e., "a sign to do so would not manifest itself in the course of the divinatory operation."

[46] I. e., "he is an important man."

[47] See §128 above.

[48] I. e., "contrary to our expectations."

[49] Although *J̌erene* is glossed, in this instance, as if it were a dative-locative in *-e* of **J̌eren*, it is clear from §129 above, where the name occurs twice, once as *J̌erene*

didst thou not cause me to be afraid there?[50] Now if I say, "Let us be companions," it will not do, [because thou art not willing]. When I assayed to spare thy life, thou didst not permit [it].' [22v] Now speak [unto him], saying, 'Let one now, according to thine [own] words, cause [thee] to pass away, not shedding [thy] blood,'" he made a decree, saying, "Causing [him] to pass on, not shedding [his] blood, abandon [ye] not openly his bones. Take [ye them] decently in hand.[51] Causing J̌amuγa to pass away there, he caused [one] to take his bones in hand.[52]

§202 [24r] And so

> Making straight[53]
> The people having skirts of felt [which cover their tents as outward walls]

and, in the year of the tiger [1206], assembling themselves at the head of the Onan [River], having made [one] to set up a white standard having nine feet,[54] then they gave unto Činggis Qahan the title *qan*. Then also [24v] he gave unto Muqali the title *gui ong*.[55] Making J̌ebe to pursue Güčülüg Qan of the Naiman, then also he made him to go a warfare. When he had made an end of setting in order the Mongγoljin people, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made [25r] a decree, saying, "For [those] who are gone with [me], together setting up a nation, I shall, making bands of thousands and appointing captains of the thousands, speak words of favour." When, appointing the captains of the thousands, he named [them], Father Münglig, Bo'orču, Muqali Gui Ong, Qorči, Ilügei, J̌ürčedei, Γunan, Qubilai, J̌elme, Tüge, Degei, Tolon, Önggür, Čülgetei, Boroγul, Šigi Qutuqu, Güčü, Kököčü, Qoryosun, Hüsün, Quyildar, Šilügei, J̌etei, Taγai, [25v]

(*YCPS* 4.4v3) and once as *J̌erene-de* ("unto J̌erene) (*YCPS* 4.4v4), that the absolute form of the name is *J̌erene*.

[50] See §129 above.

[51] I.e., "bury him decently."

[52] I.e., "bury him."

[53] I.e., subduing.

[54] I.e., tails.

[55] I.e., the Chinese title of *Kuo-wang* 國王 ("Prince of the Realm").

Čaγa'an Qo'a, Alaγ, Sorqan Šira, Buluγan, Qaračar, Kökö Čos, Süyiketü, Naya'a, Jüngšöi, Güčügür, Bala, Oronartai, Dayir, Müge, Bujir, Münggü'ür, Dolo'adai, Bögen, Qudus, Maral, Jebke, Yuruqan, Kökö, Jebe, Udutai, Bala Čerbi, Kete, Sübe'etei, Müngke, Qalja, [26r] Qurčaqus, Geügi, Badai, Kišiliγ, Ketei, Ča'urqai, Onggiran, Toγon Temür, Megetü, Qada'an, Moroqa, Dori Buqa, Iduγadai, Širaγul, Da'un, Tamači, Qa'uran, Alči, Tobsaqa, Tungquidai, Tobuqa, Ajinai, Tüyideger, Seče'ür, Jeder, Olar Güregen, Kinggiyadai [26v] Buqa Güregen, Quril Ašiγ Güregen, Qadai Güregen, Čigü Güregen, Alči Güregen, three thousand Onggirad [in number], Butu Güregen, two thousand Ikires [in number], Ala Quš Digid Quri Güregen of the Önggüd, five thousand Önggüd [in number], apart from the People of the Forest, became the captains of the ninety five thousands for which Činggis Qahan [27r] named captains of the thousands of the Mongγol people.[56]

§203 When, together with the sons in law—when again Činggis Qahan [27v] made a decree—he had [thus] appointed [over] a thousand [each of] these captains of the ninety five thousands which he had named, when, [concerning the men which were] within that [number], Činggis Qahan made a decree, saying, "I shall grant favours unto those who have [done] service," at the moment when he was saying that the captains having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come, Šigi Qutuqu was within the tent. As he spake unto Šigi Qutuqu, saying, "Go [28r] for to call [them]," when Šigi Qutuqu spake, he said, "Bo'orču, Muqali, and others have done more service than who? They have given more might than who?[57] In [respect of] being given favours, [as to] what[soever], I did not service which was too little. [As to] what[soever], I gave not might which was too little.

From [the time when I] was [28v] in the cradle,
At thy high threshold,
Growing,
Until there grew

[56] Cf. the catalogue of the captains of the ships in the second book of the *Iliad*.
[57] I. e., "They have devoted themselves to thee more than who?"

So much beard [as thou now seest]
On [my] chin,
I have not thought otherwise.[58]
From [the time when I had] the urinal at [my] crotch,[59]
Being at thy golden threshold,
Growing,
Until the beard at the mouth
Grew so much [as thou now seest],
I have not trodden in error. [29r]
Making me to lie at her feet,
[She] hath made me to grow as a son [of her].
Making me to lie at her side,
[She] hath made me to grow as a younger brother [of thee].[60]

Now what favour givest [thou] unto me?" At that word, [29v] when Činggis Qahan spake unto Šigi Qutuqu, he made a decree, saying, "Art thou not the sixth younger brother? For thee, Our late[-born] younger brother, [let one] part[61] favours according to the part of younger brethren. Again, because of thy services, let one not punish [thee] unto nine transgressions." He made a decree, saying, "At the moment when [I am] being protected by Everlasting Heaven and [30r] am rectifying[62] the entire people, becoming

[Mine] eyes for seeing,
[Mine] ears for hearing,[63]

the entire people part thou and give [as] parts unto [Our] Mother, unto Us, unto [Our] younger brethren, and unto [Our] sons, according to the names of the people,

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[58] I. e., "I have not been unfaithful to thee."

[59] For a picture of a child in a cradle with a tube from which drops of urine are trickling, cf. P. G. PALLAS, *Samlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, Erster Theil, St. Petersburg 1776, "Tab. III."

[60] See §135 above, where it is told how Mother Hö'elün reared Šikiken Quduqu.

[61] The form *qubilaldu*, as it stands, is the imperative of the second person singular. From the context, however, it is almost certain that this is an error for *qubilalduturɣai* "let one part." See *aldaturɣai* ("let one punish") immediately below (8.29v4).

[62] I. e., "conquering."

[63] See §138 above and §252 below.

Dividing
Those who have skirts of felt [which cover their tents as outward walls],
Making to separate themselves
Those who have doors of boards [on their tents]. [29v]

Let not anyone violate thy word." Again saying that Šigi Qutuqu, of the entire people,

Making thieves to beware,
Making lies to be vain,

should make to die [those] for whom holdeth the custom that they should be made to die and should make to punish [those] for whom holdeth the custom that they should be made to be punished, he committed [unto him] the judgments of over all [the people]. Again he made a decree, saying, "Let him, writing writing [in] the blue register, make into registers the fact that, of the entire people,

He shall have parted parts

and the fact that

He shall have judged judgments

and, unto the seed of the seed, let one not alter the blue writing which Šigi Qutuqu, [after] taking counsel with me, shall, [after] deciding [it], have made into registers on white paper. Let the people which shall alter [aught] be [31v] guilty." When Šigi Qutuqu spake, he petitioned, saying, "How shall a late[-born] younger brother like me, take a part alike and equally? If he favour me, let the favour of the Qahan know [how] he may give [unto me] from the cities having walls of earth." [32r] At this word, [Činggis Qahan] said, "Thine own person, thou hast determined [thy part]. Know thou [what it shall be]." Šigi Qutuqu, making an end of causing [him] so to favour himself, going out, calling the chiefs Bo'orču, Muqali and others, made [them] to enter.

§204 [33r] Then when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, spake unto Father Münglig, he made a decree, saying, "Thou, fortunate and happy,

Which wast born together with [my] being born,
Which didst grow together with [my] growing,[64]

[33v] thy services and protection, how many were they [not in number]? Among those, at the moment when the twain, Father Ong Qan and *Anda* Senggüm, beguiling, called me, when I drew nigh, as, on the way, I passed the night at the tent of Father Münglig, if thou, Father Münglig, hadst not stayed [me],[65] [I] fear that [I] would be entered

Into water that was whirling, [34r]
Into fire that was red.

Only being mindful of that service, how could it be forgotten unto the seed of the seed? Being mindful of that service, now causing [thee] to sit [on] a seat at the base of this corner, consulting [thee] in [each] year or in [each] moon, I shall give gifts and favours unto thee. I shall be serving [thee]. Unto the seed [34v] of the seed!"

§205 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Bo'orču, he made a decree, saying, "[35r] At the time when [I was] little, the eight horses—the isabella geldings—being stolen, at the moment when, on the way, passing three nights, pursuing [them], I was drawing nigh, we encountered each other. Then, when thou didst speak, saying, 'I shall together be a companion unto a companion which, being in distress,[66] draweth nigh,' without a message even unto thy father in the tent, when thou wast milking thy mares, concealing thy [35v] leathern bucket and leathern milkpail in the steppe, making [me] to loose my strawyellow[67] [horse] with the hairless tail, causing a grayish white horse with a black stripe along the backbone[68] to be ridden by me, thou, riding [thine] own swift pale-yellow [horse], loosing without a lord thy herd of

[64] See §211 below.

[65] See §168 above for this episode.

[66] The word *benglenijü*, not glossed, is almost certainly an alteration of the word *mungtanijü* which occurs in §90 (*YCPS* 2.29v3), §92 (*YCPS* 2.33v2), and §93 (*YCPS* 2.34v5). Such an alteration is possible in the Uighur script in which the text was written.

[67] See Chapter I, note 13, and Chapter II, note 35.

[68] See Chapter I, note 13.

horses, hasting, from the steppe, then, being a companion with me, again, pursuing [for] three days and nights, when we arrived at the *güre'en* which had stolen [the eight horses]—[36r] the isabella geldings—, stealing [them] as they were standing at the edge of the *güre'en*, driving [them] out, fleeing away, we twain brought [them] back.[69] Thy father is Naqu Bayan. Thou, his only son,[70] knowing what [in respect of me], [36v] art become a companion unto me? Thou art become a companion by the courage of [thy] heart. After that, when, continually thinking [on thee], I sent Belgütei and said, 'Let us be companions,' when thou,

> Riding a strawyellow [horse] with a curved back,
> Tying behind the saddle thy gray mantle of felt,

art come as a companion,[71] the Three Merkid coming against Us, at the moment when they made [me] thrice to go round about [37r] [Mount] Burqan, thou wentest round about with [me].[72] Again, after that, when, [being so close to them that we were as] propped over against the Tatar people at Dalan Nemürges, we passed the night, at the moment when, day and night, the rain continually fell, saying that I should be asleep at night, [37v] having continued to cover [me with] thy [rain] covering, not suffering the rain to fall upon me, standing [there] until the night was spent, thou wast only once shifting one of thy two feet.[73] It was a sign of the courage of thee. What [signs of] courage of thee other than that could I finish telling? Both Bo'orču and Muqali,

> Drawing my [38r] right so that it went forward,
> Staying my wrong so that it halted,[74]

have [thus] made [me] to attain unto this throne.[75] Now, [let

[69] See §§90-93 above for this episode.

[70] See Chapter III, note 47.

[71] See §95 above for this episode.

[72] See §102 above for this episode, where, however, there is no mention of the fact that Bo'orču went around Burqan Qaldun with Temüǰin. See also §145 above, where Činggis Qahan says that J̌elme once saved his life on the same occasion.

[73] See §153 above for this episode, where, however, there is no mention of the fact that Bo'orču rendered this service.

[74] I. e., "encouraging me to do what was right and dissuading me from doing what was wrong."

[75] See §230 below.

them] sit [on] seats over all and let one not punish [them] unto nine transgressions. Let Bo'orču govern the ten thousand of [those] of the right hand which take the Altai as [their] pillow." [76]

§206 [39r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Muqali, he made a decree, saying, "When we pitched at the Branching Tree of [39v] Qorqonaγ Valley, under which Qutula Qan danced,[77] because of [the fact that] the words which the foretoken of Heaven had [fore]told unto Muqali [were] clear, I, then thinking on [his father] Gü'ün Qo'a,[78] did pledge [my] word unto Muqali. According to that, saying, 'Let one sit on a seat and, [40r] unto the seed of the seed of Muqali, let one be *gui ong* of all the people,' [I] have given [unto him] the title *gui ong*. Let Muqali Gui Ong govern the ten thousand of [those] of the left hand who take Qara'un J̌idun as [their] pillow." [79]

§207 [40v] When Činggis Qahan spake unto Qorči, he made a decree, saying, "[Thou] didst [once] prophesy [unto me] [80] and, from [the time when] I was little until now, for a long time,

Suffering the wet with [me],
Suffering the cold with [me],[81]

thou [41r] hast been conducting thyself as a god which bringeth happiness. When, at that time, Qorči, [thou] didst speak, thou didst say, 'If the prophecy be fulfilled and if, by Heaven, it be made to come to pass [according] to [thy] desires, suffer me to have thirty women.' Now, because [it hath been] fulfilled, I shall favour [thee]. [41v] See [for thyself which are] the best women and the best maidens of these peoples which have submitted and choose thirty women." Again he made a decree, saying, "Over [and above the fact] that Qorči [hath] three thousand Ba'arin, with both Taγai and Ašiγ, there being the Činos, Tö'ölös, and

[76] I. e., "which live in front of the Altai Mountain."
[77] See §§57 and 117 above.
[78] See §137, where the name is written *Gü'ün U'a*.
[79] I. e., "which live in front of the Qara'un J̌idun Mountain."
[80] See §121 above.
[81] See §213 below.

Telenggüd of the Adarkin, the ten thousand being [thus] full, Qorči governing [them], encamping as a freeman [in] an encampment [42r] unto the People of the Forest along the Erdiš [River], and, making [them] to hold in subjection the People of the Forest, let Qorči govern the ten thousand." He made a decree, saying, "Let the People of the Forest not act on this manner or on that manner without leave from Qorči. Why [on the part of Qorči] should there be any doubt as to [the manner on which he should deal with one] who acteth without [his] leave?" [82]

§208 [43r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Jürčedei, [he made a decree, saying], "[As for] thy weighty service, at the moment when [we were] fighting at the Qalaqaljid Sands with the Kereyid and when I was anxious [concerning the outcome of the battle], *Anda* Quyildar [then] sware an oath.[83] [Howbeit], his work, Jürčedei, thou didst perform. When thou didst perform [it], Jürčedei, because, thou, rushing against [them], overcoming the Jirgin, [43v] the Tübegen, the Dongqayid, the Quri Šilemün, the thousand dayguards, the weighty troops—all [of them]—arriving at the great middle, didst shoot the red cheek of Senggüm with an *učumay* [arrow], by Everlasting Heaven 'the door and the reins were opened.'[84] If Senggüm had not been wounded, [44r] how, indeed, might we have been? As for Jürčedei, the weighty, great service was that. When that [one] separated himself [from me], journeying down along the Qalqa [River], I was continually thinking on Jürčedei as [if he were] the shelter of a high mountain. When that [one] was departed, we arrived for to water [our beasts at] Lake Baljuna.[85] Moreover, when we set forth from [44v] Lake Baljuna, sending Jürčedei as a spy,[86] setting forth against the Kereyid, [our] might being increased by Heaven and Earth, we destroyed and spoiled the Kereyid people. The weighty peoples being cut off, [as to] the Naiman and the Merkid, their look being

[82] I. e., "Why should he hesitate to kill anyone who may act without his permission?"
[83] See §§171-172 for this episode.
[84] From this we see that Činggis Qahan considered that his fortune dated from this very moment.
[85] See §182 above.
[86] See §185 above.

[quite] broken,[87] they were not able to set themselves in array and were dispersed. In the strife in which [45r] the Merkid and the Naiman dispersed themselves, J̌aqa Gambu of the Kereyid, by reason of his two daughters,[88] had been with his own subject peoples as [an] entire [tribe]. J̌ürčedei, enticing [him] who had separated himself [from us], becoming an enemy a second time, by a device [45v] laying hand upon [him], seized and made an end of J̌aqa Gambu which had wholly separated himself [from us]. Destroying a second time the people of that J̌aqa Gambu, we spoiled it. This was the second service of J̌ürčedei." [89]

> The day when [in the field] the one killed the other,
> Because he [could have] cast away his life;
> The day when [in the field] the one died with the other,
> Because he [could have] fought unto death,

when Činggis Qahan, favouring [him], gave Ibaqa Beki unto [46r] J̌ürčedei, when he spake unto Ibaqa, saying, "I have not said [unto myself] that thou [art] without thine *üžige* and bosom [90] and that [thou art] bad [as to thy] beauty and appearance. When I present unto J̌ürčedei thee who art 'entered into [my] breast and into [my] legs' [91] and who art 'descended,' taking place in the row,[92] being mindful of the great principle,[93] I have given thee [unto him], being mindful of the principle [of recompense] of his services whereby [46v] J̌ürčedei

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[87] I. e. they no longer have the appearance of daring to fight. Cf. the words of J̌amuγa in §196: "These do not have the countenance [of daring] to set face against [thee]." Cf. also the words in §246: "[as to] the Qongqotan, the confident countenance diminished." Cf. also the words in §277: "Breaking asunder the countenance, thou wentest."

[88] See §186 above.

[89] This seems to contradict what is related in §186 where it is specifically stated that J̌aqa Gambu was spared by Činggis Qahan.

[90] In the expression *üžige če'eji*, the first element is not glossed. The second means "bosom." In the continuous translation (*YCPS* 8.48v5) we find 無性行 (*wu hsing-hsing*) "without character."

[91] I. e., "who art my wife." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [74].

[92] I. e., "who the day when thou art become my wife hast taken place among the imperial wives." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [74].

[93] I. e., the great principle of recompense of good deeds.

Became a shield [for Us]
The day of battle;

Became a shelter [for Us]
Against the enemy people;

United [for Us]
The people which had separated themselves [from Us];

Gathered [for Us]
The people which had dispersed themselves.[94]

Long [here]after, when my seed shall sit on Our [47r] throne, being mindful of the principle [of recompense unto him who] did service like this, not violating my words, let them not abolish the place [95] of Ibaqa unto the seed of the seed." Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Ibaqa, having taken [her], saying, "Thy father Jaqa Gambu gave unto thee two hundred *ingjes* [96] and [gave] unto thee both the cook [47v] Ašiγ Temür and the cook Alčiγ. Now when thou goest unto the Uru'ud people, go, giving unto me [as] remembrance of thee one hundred from thine *ingjes*, [together with] thy cook Ašiγ Temür," again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Jürčedei, favouring [him], he made a decree, saying, "I have given mine Ibaqa [48r] unto thee. Shalt thou not be governing, thou, thy four thousand Uru'ud?"

[94] See §§ 96 and 104 above.

[95] I. e., the place which she had formerly occupied among the imperial wives and at the head of her *ordo*.

[96] I. e., slaves (male or female) presented as dowry by the bride to the groom. See §48 above.

Chapter IX

§209 [1r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Qubilai, favouring [him], he made a decree, saying, "Thou hast pressed for me

The necks
Of the mighty ones,
The buttocks
Of the strong men.

These, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe, and Sübegetei, when [I] sent you, my 'four dogs,' making [you] to betake yourselves unto that which [I] had thought,[1] ye were

Shattering the stones,
At the moment when [I] said, [1v] 'Arrive';
Smashing the cliffs,
At the moment when [I] said, 'Assault';
Breaking the bright stones,
Cutting asunder the deep waters.[2]

Sending Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe, and Sübe'etei, you, my 'four dogs,' unto the place which [I] had pointed out, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroγul, and Čila'un Ba'atur, these my 'four [2r] *külü'üd*,' were at my side, if it was a day of battle, if [I] made both J̌ürčedei and Quyildar to stand in front of me with their Uru'ud and Mangγud, I was at ease as to all my thoughts.[3] [2v] Wilt thou, Qubilai, not have charge of the affairs of the army—all [of them]?" Again he said, "Because of the stubborness[4] of Bedü'ün, I have been displeased [with him] and have not given

[1] I.e., "toward that which I had in view." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. [129].
[2] See also §72.
[3] I.e., "I had no more worries."
[4] The word *mojirqay*, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. Cf., however, the continuous translation (*YCPS* 9.3r5): 性拗 (*hsing niu*) "stubborn by nature."

[unto him] a thousand. Thou wilt be right for him.[5] Let him, commanding a thousand with thee, take counsel [with thee]." Again he said, "[Here]after [3r] We shall observe [how] Bedü'ün [doeth]."[6]

§210 [3v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Γunan of the Geniges—he made a decree, saying, "For you, the chiefs having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali, and for [you,] the stewards Dodai, Doqolqu and others—this Γunan, being a male wolf[7] in the black night and a black crow in the bright day,[8]

Tarried not, at the moment when we
were journeying,
Journeyed not, [4r] at the moment
when we were tarrying,
Put not on another face
With *bosu*[9] people,
Put not on a separate face
With hating people—

perform [ye] not without leave from both Γunan and Kökö Čos. Perform [ye, only after] taking counsel with both Γunan and Kökö Čos"—[4v] he made a decree, saying, "The eldest of my sons is Joči. Let Γunan be at the head of his Geniges and be a captain of ten thousand under Joči." Γunan, Kökö Čos, Degei, and Old Man Üsün—these four—

Were not hiding what they had seen,
Were not concealing what they had heard.[10]

[5r] These are the four.

[5] I. e., "He will listen to thee."

[6] There is no further reference to Bedü'ün in the *Secret History*.

[7] Regarded by the Mongols as the most cunning of animals.

[8] This allusion is not clear. On 16 October 1953, Professor Serge ELISSÉEFF suggested that it might be a reference to the "crow in the sun." Cf., e. g., Marcel GRANET, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, Tome premier, Paris, 1926, p. 372, n. 3: "Le corbeau est un animal solaire."

[9] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. It is probably a synonym of *öšitü* ("hating") immediately below.

[10] See §216 below.

§211 [5v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto J̌elme, he made a decree, saying, "When Old Man J̌arči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back—from [the moment when] J̌elme was [yet] in the cradle—came, descending from Burqan Qaldun, he was giving swaddling clothes of sable at the moment when I was born at Deli'ün Hill of the Onan [River].[11] From the fact of becoming a companion, he [12] is become

A slave
Of [my] threshold,
A private slave [6r]
Of [my] door.[13]

The services of J̌elme are many. He

Who was together born with [my] being born,
Who together grew with [my] growing,[14]

had as origin [of brotherhood] the swaddling clothes of sable. [6v] Let the fortunate and happy J̌elme, if he transgress [but] nine transgressions, not be subject to punishment."

§212 [7r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Tolun, he made a decree, saying, "How [is it that ye,] father and son, are to command [each] a separate thousand? Because, [aforetime] together assembling the people, being one of the two wings of [thy] father, [thou] didst together draw [15] and didst together assemble the people, I have given [unto thee] the title of *čerbi*.[16] Now, with [all the people] which thou hast [7v] found and gathered of thyself, becoming [captain of thine] own thousand, shalt thou not take counsel with Turuqan?" [17]

§213 [8r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto the cook Önggür, as he said, "The three Toγura'ud, the five Taryud, thou, Önggür,

[11] See §97. This is an allusion to the first time that J̌arči'udai came.
[12] I. e., J̌elme.
[13] See §§137 and 180 above.
[14] See §204 above.
[15] I. e., "made efforts."
[16] I. e., "steward."
[17] In the continuous translation (*YCPS* 9.7v5) this name is transcribed *Toruqan*.

son of Mönggetü Kiyan, with the Čangši'ud and the Baya'ud, ye becoming one *güre'en* for me, thou, Önggür,

> Thou didst not go astray in the mist.
> Thou didst not separate thyself in the revolt. [8v]
> Thou wast,
> Suffering the wet with [me],
> Suffering the cold with [me].[18]

Now what favour wilt thou take?," when Önggür spake, as he said, "If [Činggis Qahan] suffer me to choose a favour, [it is this:] my Baya'ud brethren are scattered and dispersed in each of the divers tribes. If [Činggis Qahan] favour [me], I would collect my Baya'ud [9r] brethren," [Činggis Qahan] made a decree, saying, "Yea! So collecting thy Baya'ud brethren, command thou a thousand!" Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Both Önggür and Boro'ul, when ye two cooks distribute food [on] the right and the left sides, [9v]

> Not suffering [it] to be wanting unto [those]
> who have stood or have sat
> [On] the right side,
> Not suffering [it] to be wanting unto [those] who have
> taken their places in the row or have not
> [On] the left side,

if ye twain so distribute, my gullet not choking, [my] mind will be at ease. Now [10r], both Önggür and Boro'ul, departing, go [ye] and distribute food unto many persons." Saying, "When [ye] sit [on] the seat, sit [ye], overseeing the food [on] the right and the left sides of the great wine table. May ye sit with Tolun and others, setting your faces toward the North," he pointed out the seat for [them].

§214 [11r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Boroγul, he made a decree, saying, "My mother getting you four, Šigi Qutuqu, Boroγul, Güčü, and Kököčü, from the encampments of [other] people, from the ground,

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[18] See §207.

When, placing [you] in [19] her legs,[20]
Adopting [you] as sons, taking care of [you],
she nourished [you], saying [unto herself] that,
In pulling [you] by your necks, [11v]
Causing [you] to be equal [in stature] with a man,
In pulling [you] by your shoulders,
Causing [you] to be equal [in stature] with a male,[21]

she would cause [you] to be companions for us her sons, she nourished [you]. As benefit for having nourished you, who knoweth how many benefits and services ye have returned unto my mother? Boroγul, being a companion unto me,

In [12r] the swift warfare
Thou didst not suffer [me] to spend the night
empty in a night of rain.[22]
In [the face of] the enemy over against
which we were propped
Thou didst not suffer [me] to spend the night
without broth.

Again bringing down the hating and vengeful Tatar people which had made an end of [our] grandfathers and fathers,

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital,

at the moment when [we] were destroying and slaying [12v] the Tatar people, by comparing them unto a linchpin,[23] when they were being killed, Qargil Šira of the Tatar becoming a robber, going out, moreover, being in a strait, hungering, coming in, entering into the tent, saying unto the mother, 'I am one that

[19] I.e., "between."
[20] In order to wash you, dress you, comb your hair, etc.
[21] See §254.
[22] I.e., "Although one cannot make a fire when it rains, in spite of that, thou didst not let me go hungry."
[23] See §154.

seeketh good things,'[24] being told, [13r] 'If [thou] be one that seeketh good things, sit there,' at the moment when [he] was sitting at the extremity—at the back of the door—of the bench on the west side [of the tent], Tolui—which [was] five years old—entered [coming] from the outside, and, at the moment when, in running, he was going out and was departing, Qargil Šira, being arisen, [took and] pressed the child in his armpit, and when, going out, he went forward, at the moment when he was feeling and drawing [13v] his knife, Altani, the wife of Boroγul, was sitting on the east side in the tent of [my] mother. With [my] mother's crying out and saying, '[He] hath made an end of the child!,' Altani, following [her], going out with [her], overtaking Qargil Šira, seizing his [14r] braids [of hair[25] with one hand] and seizing with her other hand his hand which was drawing the knife, with [her] pulling [it from him], he lost his knife. At the moment when both J̌etei and J̌elme were slaughtering a hornless, black ox north of the tent for food, at the cry of Altani, [14v] both J̌etei and J̌elme, taking [each] an axe in hand, their fists being red [from blood], came, running, and by axe and by knife slew even there Qargil Šira of the Tatar. As Altani, J̌etei, and J̌elme—[all] three—disputed with one another the desert for having saved the life of the child, when both J̌etei and J̌elme spake, they said, [15r] 'If we had been absent, if, quickly running and arriving, we had not slain [him], what would Altani, a woman, have done? [He] would have done harm unto the life of the child. The desert is ours.' When Altani spake, she said, 'If ye had not heard my cry, how [15v] would ye be come? If, when I ran, overtook [him], seized his braids [of hair], and pulled his hand which had drawn the knife, the knife were not fallen, would he not have done harm unto the life of the child, whilst both J̌etei and J̌elme were arriving?' When she had made an end of speaking, [16r] [it was agreed that] the desert was [that] of Altani. The wife of Boroγul, becoming a second shaft for Boroγul, was a help unto the life of Tolui. Again, Boroγul, at the moment when [we] were fighting with the Kereyid [at] Qalqalǰid Eled, as Ögödei had been shot

[24] I. e., "a beggar." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [86].
[25] See Chapter I, note 38.

in his neck vein by an arrow, [16v] as he was fallen [from his horse], Boroγul, lighting off [his horse] over [him], sucking by his mouth his blood which had clotted, at night spending the night with [him], on the morrow causing [him] to ride on a horse, by making [him] which was not able to sit [alone] to ride double, embracing Ögödei from behind, sucking and sucking the blood which had blocked [the wound], being red along the corners of [his] mouth, is come, bringing the life of [17r] Ögödei secure. The benefit for the fact that my mother, in rearing [him], hath suffered, hath been a service unto the lives of my two sons. Boroγul being a companion unto me did not remain behind

From beck and call,
From shout and echo.

[17v] [Even] if Boroγul transgress nine transgressions, let him not be subject to punishment." Again, he said, "Our daughter seed, [We] shall recompense." [26]

§215 [19r] Again, he said, "Our daughter seed, [We] shall recompense." [27]

§216 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Old Man Üsün, he made a decree, saying, "Üsün, Γunan, Kökö Čos, and Degei—these four—not hiding and concealing, have been wont to declare what they have seen and [19v] what they have heard.[28] They have been wont to tell what they have perceived and what they have thought. [After] the principles of the Mongγol, [as to] the way of chief, there is a custom whereby one may become a *bekɛ*. [Üsün] is the seed of the Ba'arin Elder Brother.[29] [As to] the way

[26] This line, identical with that which constitutes §215, seems to be a scribal inadvertence which should be suppressed.

[27] In the *Altan tobči (nova)*, however, we read: *basa ökin uruγ*[12]*-taγan soyurqal öggüy-e kemebe.* "Again, he said, '[We] shall grant favours unto Our daughter seed.'" Cf. *Altan Tobči*, Scripta Mongolica I, Vol. I, p. 145, ll. 11-12. By the words *ökin uruγ* "daughter seed" Činggis Qahan meant the female members of his family of which the first and the principal ones, of course, were his own daughters.

[28] See §210.

[29] In a letter dated 1 November 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "I understand that 'the Ba'arin elder brother' is Ba'aridai of §41, who was, as the

of *beki*, from among and above Us, let [20r] Old Man Üsün become a *beki*. Having raised [him] up as a *beki*, [with one's] causing [him], wearing white raiment, to ride [upon] a white gelding,[20] causing [him] to sit upon a seat, and serving [him], and, again [with his] considering the year and the month,[21] let it so be."

§217 [20v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Because of the service of the *Anda* Quyildar which, in battle, exposing his life, first opened [his] mouth,[22] let one receive the 'grant of orphans'[23] [21r] unto the seed of the seed.

§218 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake [21v] unto Narin To'oril, son of Čayan Qo'a, [the same] being told, "Thy father, Čayan Qo'a, being zealous, beginning to fight in behalf of me, at the moment when [we] were fighting at Dalan Baljud, was killed by Jamuya. Now let To'oril for his father's sake take the 'grant of orphans,'" when [22r] To'oril spake, as he said, "If [Činggis Qahan] favour [me]—my Negüs brethren are scattered and dispersed in every tribe—if [Činggis Qahan] favour [me], [I] would gather my Negüs brethren," when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "If it be so, shalt [22v] thou not gather thy Negüs brethren and govern [them] unto the seed of the seed?"

Secr. Hist. says, the eponymous ancestor of the Ba'arin (*Ba'arin-u ebüge*). This Ba'aridai was son of Bodončar, founder of the family from which Činggis issued, but born of the wife whom Bodončar had carried off, whereas Činggis descended from Bodončar by Qabiči Ba'atur, son of the principal wife of Bodončar. Ba'aridai must have been born before Qabiči Ba'atur; hence the name of *aqa* 'elder brother' by which he is designated. That is the way in which I understand the appellation *Ba'arin aqa*."

[20] For a parallel case of this "particular privilege" in the *Boγda Neyiči Toyin Dalai Manjusrii-yin domoγ-i todorqai-a geyigülügči Čindamani erike kemegdekü orosiba* [*(The Book) Which is Called the Rosary of Wishing-Stones, Which Clearly Elucidates the Tradition of the Holy Neyiči Toyin Dalai Manjusrii Has Taken (Its) Place (Herein)*] cf. Walther HEISSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 512, where he states: "The *böge tayiji* rides a white stallion. . . ."

[21] To determine what action it might be appropriate to take.

[22] See §171. See also §175 for the death of Quyildar

[23] See §§171 and 185 above.

§219 [23r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Sorqan Šira, he said, "At the time when I [was] little, when Taryutai Kirultuγ of the Tayiči'ud, [because I] was envied by [his] brethren, seized [me], then ye, Sorqan Šira, with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, saying, 'He is envied by his [Tayiči'ud] brethren,'[34] causing your daughter, Qada'an, to care for [me] [23v], hid [me] and releasing [me], sent me [from thence].[35] Being mindful of that your service and goodness, I went, being mindful of [them]

In [my] dreams in the black night,
In [my] bosom in the bright day.[36]

Ye are come lately unto me from the Tayiči'ud. Now, if I favour you, what favour would [24r] ye love?" When Sorqan Šira, being with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, spake, [he said,] "If [Činggis Qahan] favour [me], I would that I freely choose an encampment. I would that I freely choose [it], counting the country of the Merkid, [the region of] the Selengge [River], as an encampment. Again, [as to] other favours, let Činggis Qahan know [what they might be]." When Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Counting [24v] the country of the Merkid, [the region of] the Selengge [River], as an encampment, choose [ye] even freely an encampment and be [ye], unto the seed of the seed, freemen, causing [your seed] to be quiverbearers and to drink the *ötög*. Let them not be subject to punishment unto nine transgressions." Again, when Činggis Qahan favoured both Čila'un and Čimbai, he made a decree, saying, "Being mindful of the words which were spoken aforetime of [25r] both Čila'un and Čimbai, how could I forget[37] [them]? Ye, Čila'un and Čimbai, ye twain,

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[34] See §82 above.

[35] See, however, §§84-87, where (§85) it is specifically stated that it was the sons of Sorqan Šira, Čimbai and Čila'un who, "not loving the word [23v] of their father . . . made their younger sister named Qada'an to care for [him], ..."

[36] See §201 above.

[37] The word *qandaγu* (? *γandaγu*) is the *nomen futuri* in *-γu* of an unattested verb *qanda-* (? *γanda-*). Although glossed by the seemingly unintelligible words 滿立的 (*man-li-ti*) (? "that which stands full"), it would appear from the continuous translation (*YCPS* 9.27r1): 如何忘得 (*Ju-ho wang-te*) ("How could I forget?") that *qanda-* (? *γanda-*) somehow implies the meaning of "to forget."

If [ye] would speak your thoughts,
If [ye] would request your wants,

tell [ye them] not unto a person [which is] between. By your own bodies [38] and by [your own] mouths

Tell [ye] unto me what [ye] yourselves shall have thought.
Request [ye] yourselves [of me] your [25v] wants."

Again [26r] he made a decree, saying, "Sorqan Šira, Badai, and Kišiliγ, ye freemen, again, when ye are freemen,

Rushing at the many enemies,
If [we] get spoil,
Take [ye] as much as ye can take.
If [we] hunt wild beasts,
Take [ye] as many as ye can kill.[39]

As to Sorqan Šira, he was a bondman of Tödege of the Tayiči'ud. As to both Badai and Kišiliγ, they were the keepers of horses of [Yeke] Čeren. Now, [with my] causing [you], [by] my support, to be quiverbearers and to drink the *ötög*, rejoice [ye] as freemen."

§220 [27r] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Naya'a he made a decree, saying, "When Old Man Širgötü [40] drew nigh unto us with you, his sons Alaγ and Naya'a, holding Taryutai [27v] Kiriltuγ, on the way arriving at Qutuqul Nu'u, then, when Naya'a spake, saying, 'How shall we go, forsaking and holding our proper *qan?*,' not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him] and sending [him away], Old Man Širgötü, coming with his sons, Alaγ and Naya'a, then, when [28r] Naya'a Bilǰi'ur [41] spake, as he said, 'When laying hand upon our proper *qan*, Taryutai Kiriltuγ, we drew nigh, yet not being able to forsake [him], releasing [him], sending [him away], we came to give [our] might [42]

[38] I.e., "in person."
[39] See §187.
[40] *Širgötü ~ Širgü'etü.*
[41] I.e., Naya'a "The Lark." For the word *Bilǰi'ur*, not glossed, see *bilǰi'ur*, also not glossed, in §77 above and the variant form *bildu'ur*, glossed "lark," in §180 above.
[42] I.e., devotion.

unto Činggis Qa'an. As we came, laying hand upon our *qan*, we said [unto ourselves], [28v] "We shall be said [to deserve the words]: 'People which have laid hand upon their proper *qan*, [here]after how shall they be trusted, these?'" [Therefore,] [we] were not able to forsake our *qan*,' then, [when I heard these words,] saying [unto myself], '[As to] the reason for which he hath not been able to forsake his proper *qan*, [it is that] he hath been mindful of the great principle,' approving his words, [I] said, '[I] shall assign [him] unto one affair.'[43] Now, for Bo'orču, let him govern the ten thousand of the right hand. Giving unto Muqali the title *gui ong*, [I] have made [him] to govern the ten thousand [29r] of the left hand. Now let Naya'a govern the ten thousand of the middle."

§221 [29v] Again he said, "Let the twain, Jebe and Sübe'etei, command as captains of thousands as many [of those] of theirs as they have gotten and gathered themselves."

§222 Again, causing to assemble by the shepherd Degei the concealed people,[44] he caused [him] to govern a thousand.

§223 [30r] Again he said, "As [subject] people are wanting unto the carpenter Güčügür, levying[45] [them] from hence and from thence—from[46] the Jadaran, Mulqalqu hath been a 'companion' in an upright manner—both Güčügür and Mulqalqu, together commanding the thousand, take [ye] counsel with each other."

§224 [30v] Causing to be captains of thousands [those] who had set up the nation with [him] and who had suffered with [him], dividing [the people] into thousands, so as to form thousands, appointing [over them] captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, dividing [the people] into ten thousands, [31r] appointing [over them] captains of ten thousands, to the captains of ten thousands and of thousands, unto those unto whom it seemed to be fit that they be given favour, giving favour, unto those for whom it was fit that he make [for them] decrees of favour, making [decrees

[43] See §149 above.
[44] I. e., unregistered households.
[45] I. e., "let one levy."
[46] I. e., "among."

of favour], when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Aforetime [I] was wont to have eighty nightguards and seventy guards [which were] dayguards. Now, in the might of Everlasting Heaven, [31v] [my] might and power being increased by Heaven and Earth, at the moment when I have made straight [47] the whole nation and have caused [it] to enter into mine only reins, now for me choose [ye] from the divers thousands dayguards [which are] guards and make [them] to enroll. When [ye] shall make [them] to enroll, when [ye] shall make nightguards, quiverbearers, and dayguards to enroll, make [ye them] to enroll, filling ten thousand." [32r] Again, when Činggis Qahan proclaimed unto the divers thousands a decree that one should choose and enroll the guards, he made a decree, saying, "When one shall enroll guards for Us, when the sons of the captains of ten thousands, of thousands, and of hundreds or the sons of ordinary persons shall enter [into Our service], let one enroll those who have ability and [are] good of appearance—who apparently are apt for serving in Our presence. When one shall enroll the sons of captains [32v] of thousands, let them come [each] with ten companions and bringing with them a younger brother. When one shall enroll the sons of captains of hundreds, let them come [each] with five companions and bringing with them a younger brother. When one shall enroll the sons of captains of tens or when one shall enroll the sons of ordinary persons, let them come [each] with three [33r] companions and also bringing with them a younger brother, and, from [their company of] origin, making ready [48] horses [to ride on]. When one shall strengthen [on this wise the number of] those whom one shall make to serve in [Our] presence for Us, let one give the ten companions unto the sons of captains of thousands, levying [them] from the thousands and the hundreds from which they originally come. If there be [49] a part and portion [of goods] given by their fathers, or whatever be the quantity of men and geldings which by [their own] persons [33v] they have gotten and have established [as their own], let one, apart from

[47] See §202 above.
[48] I. e., "providing themselves with."
[49] I. e., "if they have."

their personal part [of goods], levy [beasts to ride and men] according to the measure measured of Us, and let one, so levying [men] and making ready [beasts to ride], give [them unto them]. And let one, after the very same manner, apart [34r] from their personal part of goods, and even so levying, give five companions unto the sons of captains of hundreds and unto the sons of captains of tens as well as three companions unto the sons of ordinary persons." [Again,] he made a decree, saying, "The captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, and the many [ordinary] persons having suffered [one] to bring this Our decree [unto them] or having heard [it], let the people which shall transgress [it] be subject to punishment. [As to those] people which shall have been made to enter [into] their turn [of service] for Us, if [among them] people which, avoiding [their turn of service], are [34v] not fit look upon their service in Our presence as [too] difficult, enrolling others, we shall punish those persons and shall send [them] unto a distant place out of eye[sight]." He said, "[35r] Let one not stay people which shall say that they would learn to serve inside in Our presence and [for this purpose] come unto Us."

§225 [35v] According to the fact that Činggis Qa'an had made a decree, [36r] choosing [them] from the thousands, according to the very same decree, choosing the sons of the captains of hundreds and of tens, bringing [them] forth—aforetime there were eighty nightguards[50]—one caused there to be eight hundred [nightguards]. He said, "[Over and] above the eight hundred let one fill [the band so that there be] a thousand." He made a decree, saying, "Let one not stay those who shall enroll themselves in the nightguards." [36v] He made a decree, saying, "Let Yeke Ne'ürin be captain of the nightguards and let him command a thousand." Aforetime he had chosen four hundred quiverbearers.[51] Choosing [them], he said, "Let Yesün Te'e, son of Jelme, be a captain of quiverbearers and let him take counsel with Bugidai, son of Tüge." He made a decree, saying, "When, with the dayguards, [37r] the quiverbearers enroll themselves with

[50] See §§191 and 192 above.

[51] This fact has not been previously mentioned in the text.

[others] within the divers companies, let Yesün Te'e enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Bugidai enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Horquday enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let Lablaqa enroll himself, being a captain of one company of quiverbearers. Let [these four], enrolling for to carry quivers [their] divers companies [37v] of dayguards and their quiverbearers, so be [their] captains. Let Yesün Te'e, filling [a band of] the quiverbearers [so that there be] a thousand, be a captain."

§226 [38r] [Over and] above the dayguards which aforetime had enrolled themselves with Ögele Čerbi,[52] filling [a band so that there were] a thousand, he said, "From the family of Bo'orču let [38v] Ögele Čerbi command [them]." He said, "One thousand dayguards, from the family of Muqali let Buqa command one thousand dayguards." He said, "From the family of Ilügei let Alčidai command one thousand dayguards." He said, "Let Dodai Čerbi command one thousand dayguards. Let Doqolqu [39r] Čerbi command one thousand dayguards." He made a decree, saying, "From the family of Jürčedei let Čanai command one thousand dayguards. From the family of Alči let Aqutai command one thousand dayguards. Let Arqai Qasar command one thousand dayguards, one thousand chosen *ba'atud*, and [39v] let them be dayguards on the many [53] days. On the day of battle let them stand in front and be *ba'atud*." There were eight thousand dayguards which came, being chosen from the thousands and thousands. There were two thousand with nightguards and quiverbearers. There were [in all] ten thousand guards. When Činggis Qahan made [40r] a decree, he made a decree, saying, "Let one strengthen the ten thousand guards [which remain] in the presence of Us and let them become the great middle [of the army]."

§227 [40v] Again, when Činggis Qahan, making a decree, appointed those who should be the elders of the four companies of the dayguards, saying, "Let Buqa, commanding one company [41r] of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into] service in the

[52] See §191 above. [53] I.e., "ordinary." See Chapter VII, note 30.

guard]. Let Alčidai, commanding one company of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into service in the guard]. Let Dodai Čerbi, commanding one company of guards, dispose the guards and enter [into service in the guard]. Let Doqolqu Čerbi, commanding one company of guards, dispose [41v] the guards and enter [into service in the guard]," he appointed the elders of the four companies.[54] When he proclaimed a decree whereby one should enter [into his] turn [of service], he made a decree, saying, "When one entereth [into his] turn [of service], let the chief of the company, mustering the guards which shall have served [their] turn [of service] with himself, entering [into his] turn [of service,] passing three nights, change [places] with [the company of relief]. [42r] If a man of the company neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct by three strokes of the rod that [man] of the company which shall have neglected [his] turn [of service]. If the same guard again, a second time, neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct [him] by seven strokes of the rod. If again the same man, without that [his] body be sick and without consultation [beforetime] with the chiefs of the company, again, [if] the same guard thrice neglect [his] turn [of service], having instructed [him] by [42v] thirty seven strokes of the rod—he looketh upon his service at [the side of] Us as [too] difficult—[We] shall send [him] out of sight unto a distant place."[55] He made a decree, saying, "Elders of the companies, cause [ye] this decree to be heard by the guards at every third turn [of service]. If they cause it not to be heard, [43r] let the elders of the companies be subject to punishment. When they shall have heard the decree, if they transgress [it], if, after the principle of the decree, they neglect [their] turn [of service], let the guards be subject to punishment." He said, "Elders of the companies, saying [unto yourselves], 'They have been excelled [by us] in captaincy,' rebuke [ye] not, without leave from me, my guards which have enrolled themselves [in my guard] equal [unto you]. [43v] If one disannul the ordinance, declare [ye it] unto me. If there be those for whom holdeth the rule that they are fit to be beheaded, We shall behead [them]. If there be those

[54] I. e., Buqa, Alčidai, Dodai Čerbi, and Doqolqu Čerbi.
[55] See also §278 below.

for whom holdeth the rule that they are fit to be beaten, making [them] to lie down, [we] shall beat [them]. Saying [unto yourselves], 'We excell [them] in captaincy,' if, laying hand [upon them], ye smite with the rod my guards equal [unto you], let one repay strokes of the rod as repayment of strokes of the rod and [44r] fists as repayment of fists."[56]

§228 [44v] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "My guards are higher than the outward[57] captains [45r] of thousands. The companions of my guards are higher than the outward captains of hundreds and of tens. If outward captains of thousands, making themselves equal unto my guards and equalling themselves unto [them], quarrel with [one of] my guard[s], we shall punish the persons which are captains of thousands."

§229 [45v] Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, when he proclaimed a decree unto the captains of the divers companies, he made a decree, saying, "Let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, [and the cooks], [46r] entering [into their] turn [of service], severally each in his [own] way, walking the walk of the day,[58] yielding unto the nightguards at the moment of the sun's having fire,[59] going out, pass the night. Let the nightguards at night pass the night at [the side of] Us. Let the quiverbearers depart, rendering unto the nightguards quivers, and the cooks bowls and vessels. [On the morrow, in the morning] let the quiverbearers, the dayguards, and the cooks which shall have passed the night outside, until We eat [Our] broth, [46v] sitting at the *kirü'e*[60] and telling [it] unto the nightguards, when [We] finish eating [Our] broth, return, the quiverbearers unto the quivers, the dayguards unto their seats and the cooks unto their bowls and vessels. Let those who shall enter [into] divers turns [of service], in the same and same

[56] Cf., e.g., Leviticus XXIV §20: "Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: . . ."

[57] I.e., outside of the imperial guard.

[58] I.e., performing the duties of the day as opposed to those of the night which are performed by the nightguards.

[59] I.e., when the sun is at the point to set, the moment when it appears on the horizon as if it were on fire.

[60] This word is glossed: "place where one assembles the horses." See also Chapter IV, note 5.

manner, so do according to this regulation." [47r] He said, "After that the sun hath set, seizing [whatsoever] person shall go athwart at the back side or at the front side of the *ordo*, the nightguards seizing [him], passing the night, on the morrow, let the nightguards ask his words. When the company shall change [places] with [the company of relief], let the nightguards [of the company of relief] remit their tablets and come in. Let the nightguards which shall change [places with the relief] and [47v] shall go out also remit [them], go out, and depart." He said, "The nightguards lying round about the *ordo* at night, [ye] nightguards which shall have stood, stopping the door,[61] cleaving the people which shall enter at night in such a way that their heads are sundered and [cleaving them] so that their shoulders fall, cast [them] away. [48r] If at night there come people which have an urgent message, let them tell [it] unto the nightguards.[62] Let one let [them] tell [the message] north of [my] tent, while standing together with the nightguards."[63] He made a decree, saying, "Let not any one sit [upon] a seat above the nightguards.[64] Let not any one enter without word from the nightguards. Let not any one walk at the upper side of the nightguards.[65] [48v] Let one not walk between the nightguards. Let one not ask the number of nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the people which shall walk at the upper side of the nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the people which shall walk between. The person which shall have asked the number, the nightguards, let the nightguards seize that person, the gelding which he shall have ridden that very day—[together] with the saddle and [together] with the bridle[66]—[49r] together with the garment which he shall have worn." Eljigedei, although he was worthy of confidence, at eventide, adventuring to walk at the upper side of the nightguards, how was he seized by the nightguards?[67]

[61] I. e., on the outside. For another example see §246 below.

[62] I. e., "saying that they have an urgent message unto me, Činggis Qahan."

[63] Even though Činggis Qahan be inside his tent, he can hear perfectly what is said outside. See also §169 above.

[64] I. e., at a place which is between the nightguards and the tent.

[65] I. e., between the nightguards and the tent.

[66] See §278 below.

[67] See §278 below.

Chapter X

§230 [1r] When Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying,
"Mine elder nightguards
Which, [in] the cloudy night,
Lying round about
My tent with a hole at the top,
Making [me] to sleep [in] peace and quiet,
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto this throne.[1] [1v]

My happy nightguards
Which, [in] the starry night,
Lying round about
My palace tent
Have not made [me] to be affrighted within the coverings
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto the high throne.

My sincere-hearted nightguards
Which, in the snowstorm which is moving,
In the cold which is making [one] to shiver,
In the rain which is pouring [down],
Standing, not taking [their] rest,
Round about my tent with [a frame of] lattice,
Have caused [my] heart to be at peace
Have [thus] made [me] to attain unto the throne of joy.

My trusty nightguards
Which, in the midst of enemies which are making trouble,
Round about [2r] my tent with a band of felt[2]
Have, not winking an eye,
Stood, staying [their assault].

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[1] See §205 above.

[2] "In effect, the word *irge* designates the broad band of felt which protects on the outside the bottom of the tent by encompassing it." Cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. [137].

My vigilant nightguards
Which, at the moment when the quivers of
birch-bark [of the enemy]
Hardly moved,[3]
Stood without delay!

My nightguards of swift gait,
Which, at the moment when the quivers of willow-wood
[of the enemy]
Hardly moved,
Stood not too late! [2v]

My happy nightguards,
[Henceforth,] call [ye yourselves] the 'elder nightguards.'

Call [ye] the seventy dayguards which are entered with Ögöle Čerbi the 'great dayguards.' Call [ye] the *ba'atud* of Arqai the 'elder *ba'atud*.' Call [ye] the quiverbearers such as Yesün Te'e and Bugidai the 'great quiverbearers.'"

§231 [3v] He said, "Of my ten thousand guards [which are] private servants [which remain] in the presence [of] my person, which are come, being chosen as private servants from the ninety five thousands, [ye, my] sons which long [here]after shall have sat on my throne, unto the seed of my seed, [of] these guards, being mindful [even] as of a remembrance bequeathed [by me] and, not causing [them] to murmur, excellently take [ye] care of [them]. Will these ten thousand guards not be called [4r] my gods which bring happiness?"[4]

§232 Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "Let the nightguards look to [4v] the maids [which are] stewards of the *ordo*, the 'sons of the tent,'[5] the keepers of camels, and the keepers of oxen and let them take care of the tent-carts of the *ordo*. Let the nightguards collect the spears at the foot of[6] the standards and

[3] See §105.
[4] See §105.
[5] I. e., menservants.
[6] This interpretation of *doro* as a postposition was suggested by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT in an oral communication of 8 September 1953.

drums. Let the nightguards also collect the bowls and vessels.[7] Let the nightguards oversee Our drink and food. And let the nightguards oversee and cook the thick flesh[8] [5r] and food. If drink and food be wanting, [We] shall seek [them] from the nightguards which shall have been made to oversee [them]." [5v] He said, "When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, let them not distribute [them] without leave from the nightguards which shall have been made to oversee [them]. When they distribute food, let them first distribute [it], beginning from the nightguards." He said, "Let the nightguards order the going in and the coming out at the palace tent. At the door let the doorkeepers of the nightguards stand [in] the tent at hand. Let two from [among] the nightguards enter and hold in hand[9] the great wine table." He said, "Let the keepers of the encampment from [among] the nightguards go and pitch the palace tent." He said, "At the moment when We are falconing [6r] or hunting, let the nightguards go, together falconing and hunting with Us. Let them, measuring their half, place [it] at the carts."[10]

§233 [6v] Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "If the person of Us do not go [to] war, let the nightguards not go to war apart from Us." He made a decree, saying, "Having let themselves be told thus [by Us], let the stewards which command soldiers, which, transgressing the decree, [7r] being jealous of the nightguards, make [them] to go [to] war, be subject to punishment." He said, "Ye say, 'How is it that the soldiers of the nightguard are not made to go [to war]?' The nightguards watch over my 'golden life.' At the moment when [I] go falconing and hunting, they labour with [me]. Being made to oversee the *ordo*, [7v] at the moment when it journeyeth or at the moment when [it is] at rest, they take care of the carts. Is it easy to pass the night watching over my person? Is it easy to take care of the tent-carts

[7] See §278.

[8] I. e., meat in bulk, before being cut into smaller pieces.

[9] I. e., oversee.

[10] By this is meant that half of the total number of the nightguards must stay near the carts, whereas the other half must accompany Činggis Qahan. See also §278 below.

at the moment when the 'great *a'uruγ*' journeyeth or at the moment when it sitteth? Saying [unto Ourself], '[The nightguards] so have double and quite distinct tasks,' such [8r] is [the reason for which We] say, 'Let them, apart from Us and separately, not go to war.'"

§234 Again, when he made a decree, he said, "Let [some] from [among] [8v] the nightguards together hear judgments, judgments with Šigi Qutuqu." He said, "Let [some] from [among] the nightguards take care of the quivers, bows, breast-plates, and weapons and distribute them [unto the others]. Let them, collecting [some] from [among] the geldings, go, lading the nets [for taking prey]." He said, "Let [some] from [among] the nightguards, with the stewards, distribute the satin." He said, "When the quiverbearers and [9r] the dayguards proclaim the encampment, let the quiverbearers such as Yesün Te'e and Bukidai and the dayguards such as Alčidai, Ögele, and Aqutai go [on] the right side of the *ordo*." He said, "Let the dayguards such as Buqa, Dodai Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, and Čanai go [on] the left side of the *ordo*." He said, "Let the *ba'atud* of Arqai go in front [9v] of the *ordo*." He said, "Let the nightguards, having taken care of the *ordo* tentcarts, go in the neighbourhood of the *ordo*, [on] the left side." He appointed [him], saying, "Let [10r] Dodai Čerbi constantly watch over all the dayguards which are guards, round about the *ordo*, the 'sons of the tent'[11] of the *ordo*, the keepers of horses, the shepherds, the keepers of camels, and the keepers of oxen, and the *ordo*." He made a decree, saying, "Let Dodai Čerbi, being constantly [there], behind the *ordo*, go,

> Eating remnants [of blades] of grass [for food],
> Burning dried dung [for fuel]."

§235 [10v] He made Qubilai Noyan to go a warfare unto the Qarlu'ud. Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ud, submitting himself, came unto Qubilai. Qubilai Noyan having taken [11r] Arslan Qan, coming, suffered [him] to present himself unto Činggis Qahan. Saying, "He did not fight," Činggis Qahan favoured Arslan and made a decree, saying, "I shall give [unto him] a daughter."

[11] See note 6 above.

§236 Sübe'etei Ba'atur—[he] with an iron cart [12]—going a warfare, pursuing the sons such as [11r] Qutu and Čila'un of Toγto'a of the Merkid, overtaking [them] at the Čui River, destroyed [them] and came [back].

§237 Jebe, pursuing Güčülüg Qan of the Naiman, overtaking [him] at the Sariγ Qun,[13] destroyed Güčülüg and came [back].

§238 [12r] The *idu'ud* [14] of the Ui'ud sent ambassadors unto Činggis Qahan. When he came, petitioning by the two ambassadors, Adkiraγ and Darbai, he came, petitioning, saying,

"[Even] as having seen Mother Sun,[15]
When the clouds become clear;
[Even] as having found the water of the river,
When the ice becometh clear,

I greatly rejoiced, when I heard [12v] the name and the fame of Činggis Qa'an. If [thou], Činggis Qahan, favour [me], if I get [were it but one]

From the rings of [thy] golden girdle;

[were it but one]

From the shreds of [thy] crimson garment,[16]

I will become thy fifth son and give [my] might [unto thee]." At that word, [13r] when Činggis Qahan, favouring [him], sent, speaking in answer, when he sent, saying, "I shall also give [unto him] my daughter. Let him become my fifth son. Let the *idu'ud* come, having taken gold, silver, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, brocades, damasks, and silks," the *idu'ud* rejoiced, saying, "[I] have been favoured," and [13v] having taken gold, silver, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, silks, brocades, damasks, and satins, the *idu'ud* came and presented himself unto Činggis Qahan. Činggis Qahan favoured the *idu'ud* and gave [unto him] Al Altun.

[12] See §199 above.

[13] I.e., "Yellow Cliff."

[14] Although glossed as the name of a person, *idu'ud*, in reality, is the Turkish title *iduq qut* "Holy Luck."

[15] See Chapter II, note 8.

[16] Cf. St. Mark VI §56: "and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment."

§239 [14r] In the year of the hare [1207] [Činggis Qahan] made J̌oči to set forth with the soldiers of the right hand unto the People of the Forest. Buqa went, guiding [him]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, before the ten thousand Oyirad, submitting himself, came in [unto J̌oči]. Coming, [14v] leading J̌oči, guiding [him] unto his ten thousand Oyirad, he made [them] to submit themselves at Šiγšid. J̌oči, having brought into subjection the Oyirad, Buriyad, Baryun, Ursud, Qabqanas, Qangqas, and Tubas, when he arrived at the ten thousand Kirgisud, the chiefs of the Kirgisud, Yedi Inal, Al Di'er, and [15r] Öre Beg Digin, chiefs of the Kirgisud, coming in to submit themselves, coming, having taken white gerfalcons, white geldings,[17] and black sables, presented themselves unto J̌oči. From the Šibir,[18] Kesdiyim,[19] Bayid, Tuqas, Tenleg,[20] Tö'eles,[21] Tas, and Bajigid[22] hither, J̌oči, subjugating the People of the Forest, coming, having taken the captains of the ten thousands and of the thousands [15v] of the Kirgisud and the chiefs of the People of the Forest, suffered [them] to present themselves unto Činggis Qahan with the white gerfalcons, with the white geldings, and with the black sables. Going to meet Quduqa Beki of the Oyirad, saying, "He is come, aforetime submitting himself and [16r] leading [hither] his ten thousand Oyirad," he favoured [him] and gave Čečeyigen unto his son, unto Inalči. He gave Holuiqan, daughter of J̌oči, unto Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki unto the Önggüd. When Činggis Qahan, favouring J̌oči, spake, he made a decree, saying, "Eldest of my sons, being [16v] but issued from in the tent,[23] thou [hast been] one of whom the way [is] good.[24] Not wounding or not making to suffer men or geldings in the lands in which [thou]

[17] See Chapter I, note 45.

[18] I.e., Sibir. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1949, p. 141, n. 1.

[19] I.e., Kištimi. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142, n. 2.

[20] This is an error for *Teleng*. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 1.

[21] Tö'eles (<*Tögeles>*Töles) = Töleš. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 2.

[22] I.e., Bašγird. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[23] I.e., "having but attained to manhood." See also §277: "issuing [but] once from in the tent."

[24] I.e., "thou hast had good luck."

art gone, thou art come, having brought into subjection the fortunate [25] People of the Forest. I will give the people unto thee."

§240 [17v] Again he made Boro'ul Noyan to go a warfare unto the Qori Tumad people. As Daiduqul Soqor, chief of the Tumad people had died, his wife Botoqui Taryun [18r] was governing the Tumad people. When Boroγul Noyan arrived, three men departing from the great army to go in front, at eventide, not perceiving, as they were going along a path in the difficult forest, being robbed in the rearward by their watchmen, stopping the path, [the watchmen] seized and killed Boroγul Noyan. Knowing that the Tumad [18v] had killed Boroγul, as Činggis Qahan, being exceeding wroth, was ready to set forth himself, both Bo'orču and Muqali did advise so that Činggis Qa'an halted. Moreover, when he appointed Dörbei Doγšin [26] of the Dörbed, he made a decree, saying, "Setting the army in order with severity, praying Everlasting Heaven, [19r] assay to bring the Tumad people into subjection." When Dörbei set the army in order, first making [one] to spread abroad [something] empty [27] at the ways, paths, and passes along which the army would [be expected to] go and over which the watchmen would [be expected to] keep watch along the ways on which the *hula'an buqa* [28] went—when he made an ordinance unto the soldiers, as for all the men of the army, if [their] hearts were to fail [them], in [respect of each] man, making [him] to carry ten rods on the back [19] to beat [him, if he refused to go forward], making [one] to prepare axes, bills, saws, chisels, and weapons of war for the men—along the way on which the *hula'an buqa* went, making [one], felling [them], to hew and to saw the trees which stood at the way, making a way, when he went out upon the mountain, [as one might say,] from on the hole at the top of the tents [29] of the Tumad [20r] people, at the moment when, unawares, they were sitting, feasting, he spoiled [them].

[25] I. e., fortunate, because they now belong to the Mongols.

[26] I. e., Dörbei "The Fierce."

[27] I. e., false rumors.

[28] The term *hula'an buqa*, glossed "name of a wild beast" appears literally to mean "red ox." Inasmuch as the term is only transcribed, not translated, in the continuous translation (*YCPS* 10.20v), I have preferred to leave it untranslated. It may designate a kind of elk.

[29] For this figure see §§105 and 109 above.

§241 [20v] Beforetime both Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki, being seized by the Tumad, were there at [the side of] Botoqui Taryun. As for the manner in which Qorči [21r] had been seized, at the moment when [Činggis Qahan] had made a decree, saying, "Let him take thirty women which are beautiful maidens of the Tumad people," [30] as he was going, saying, "[I] shall take the maidens of the Tumad," the peoples which formerly had submitted themselves, moreover, made a rebellion and seized Qorči Noyan.[31] When Činggis Qahan knew that Qorči [21b] had been seized by the Tumad, when, saying, "Quduqa knoweth the ways of the People of the Forest," he sent [him], Quduqa Beki also was seized.[32] When he had made an end of bringing the Tumad people into subjection, because of the bones [33] of Boroγul, he gave [unto his sons] a hundred Tumad. Qorči took thirty maidens. [22r] He gave Botoqui Taryun unto Quduqa Beki.

§242 [22r] Činggis Qahan making a decree, saying, "I shall part and give the people unto the mother, unto the sons, and unto the younger brethren," when he gave [them unto them], saying, "She who, assembling the nation, hath suffered is the mother.[34] The eldest of my sons is Joči. The youngest of my younger brethren [23r] is Odčigin," unto [his] mother, together with the part of Odčigin, he gave ten thousand people. The mother, [although] considering the number too few, did not utter [her voice]. Unto Joči he gave nine thousand people. Unto Ča'adai he gave eight thousand people. Unto Ögödei he gave five thousand people. Unto Tolui he gave five thousand [23v] people. Unto Qasar he gave four thousand people. Unto Alčidai he gave two thousand people. Unto Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people. Saying, "Da'aritai hath been together with the Gereyid," when he said, "I shall destroy [him] out of the sight of the eyes," when Bo'orču, Muqali, and [24r] Šigi Qutuqu—[all] three—spake, being told [by them],

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[30] See §207.

[31] This fact has not been previously related.

[32] This fact has not been previously related.

[33] I.e., death. See §240 above.

[34] This is an allusion to the achievement of Hö'elün Üjin, related in §73 above.

"[It is] like quenching one's own fire,
[It is] like destroying one's own tent.

As remembrance of thy good father there is left behind [for thee but] thine only paternal uncle. How shalt [thou] forsake [35] [him]? In[asmuch as] he did not understand [what he was doing],[36] he let him be. Let the youngest brother of thy good father together with [his kinsmen] let the smoke of the encampment whirl up," [37] and being talked with

Clearly
So as to snatch
The smoke from his nose,[38]

saying, "Yea! That [sufficeth]!," thinking on [his] good father, at the words of the three, Bo'orču, Muqali, and Šigi Qutuqu, he appeased himself.

§243 [25v] "I, giving unto mother and unto Odčigin ten thousand people, [for them] have appointed from the chiefs Güčü, Kököčü, Jungsai, and Qorqasun—[all] four. [I] have appointed for Joči Tunan, Möngke'ür, and Kete—[all] three. I have appointed for Ča'adai Qaračar, Möngke, and Idoyudai—[all] three." Again, when Činggis Qahan spake, he made a decree, saying, "Ča'adai is hard. He hath a fine nature.[39] Let Köke Čos be at [his] side [26r] evening and morning and tell [unto him] what he hath thought.[40] For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both Jadai and Bala. For Qasar he appointed Jebke. For Alčidai he appointed Ča'urqai.

§244 [26v] The sons of Father Münglig of the Qongqotad were seven. The middlemost [27r] of the seven was Kököčü Teb Teng-

[35] I.e., kill.

[36] I.e., "inasmuch as he did that unintentionally."

[37] I.e., "Do not kill him, but let him live and keep house as before." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT et Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS* 15 (1952).419-506 (p. 455).

[38] Cf. Psalm XVIII §8 "There went up smoke out of his nostrils, ..."

[39] I.e., a nature given to making fine distinctions. In other words, he is a man who busies himself with minutiae or minor details. Hence, he is "narrow-minded."

[40] See, e.g., §254 below, for an example of the eloquence of Kökö Čos.

geri. Those seven Qongqotan made a league with one another and smote Qasar. When Qasar kneeled to Činggis Qa'an, saying, "[I] have been smitten by the seven Qongqotan which made a league with one another," whilst Činggis Qahan was wroth in [respect of] other [things], as he spake, [27v] when Činggis Qahan, in his wrath, spake unto Qasar, being told, "Thou hast been [doing nothing other] than [saying] that [thou] wouldst not be overcome by [any] living thing. How hast thou been overcome?,"[41] Qasar, having shed tears, arose and departed. Qasar, being vexed, came not [unto Činggis Qahan] three days. Then when Teb Tenggeri spake unto Činggis Qa'an, being told, "The decree [28r] of Everlasting Heaven, heavenly foretokens concerning the Qan do speak. Once they say, 'Let Temüjin hold the nation.' Once they say, '[Let] Qasar [hold the nation].' If [Činggis Qahan] surprise not Qasar, there is no knowledge [as to what may come to pass]," Činggis Qahan, setting forth the [self]same night, when he went for to seize Qasar, both Güčü and Kököčü declared [it] unto the mother, saying, "He is gone [28v] for to seize Qasar." The mother, having [thus] known [it], it having been [yet] night, straightway harnessing a white camel, departed in a black cart, travelling all the night. As, with the rising of the sun, she arrived, at the moment when Činggis Qahan, binding the sleeves of Qasar, taking his hat and girdle,[42] was questioning [29r] his words, being come unto by the mother, Činggis Qahan was terrified and was afraid of the mother. The mother, being furious, arriving, being lighted from the cart, the mother herself having undone and loosed the sleeves of Qasar which had been bound [by Činggis Qahan], giving unto Qasar his hat and girdle, the mother being wroth, not being able [29v] to subdue her fury, sitting with legs crossed, bringing forth her two breasts, making [them] to spill over upon [her] two knees, when she spake, she said, "Have [ye] seen [them]? The breasts which ye have sucked are these. These *qadalun da'un*,[43] they have bitten their afterbirth[44] and have cut their navel.[45] What hath Qasar done? Temüjin [30r] was wont to empty this one

[41] I. e., "How hast thou now been overcome by the seven Qongqotan?"
[42] See Chapter II, note 67.
[43] This expression, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.
[44] See §78.
[45] I. e., have cut their umbilical cord.

breast of me. Qači'un and Odčigin, the twain together, were wont not to empty one breast.[46] As for Qasar, emptying the two breasts each of me, causing [me] to be at ease so that my bosom became broad,[47] he was wont to cause [my] bosom to be broad.

Thereby the able
Temüjin of me
[Is] one having the ability of bosom.[48]

Because Qasar of me
[Is] one having the ability [30v] of shooting
and of might,
Those who went out, shooting arrows with [him],[49]
He was wont to shoot and to cause to submit themselves.

Those who went out, being affrighted,
He was wont to shoot with distant arrows and to cause
to submit themselves.

Now, saying, 'I have destroyed the people [which are] enemies,' ye are not able to see Qasar." When, after letting the mother appease herself, [31r] Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "Suffering the fact that mother was wroth, and being afraid, I have been afraid. And being ashamed, I have been ashamed," and, saying, "We shall withdraw," he withdrew. Not letting [it] be known by the mother, stealthily taking the people of Qasar, he gave unto Qasar [only] a thousand four hundred people. Such [was] the manner in which the mother, [thus] knowing [it], [31v] in that thought went straightway [unto old age].[50] Jebke of the Jalayir then, going out in fright, fled away into Barγujin.[51]

§245 [33r] After that, the peoples of the nine tongues [52] assembled themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri and from the *kirü'e*

[46] I. e., they did not have so great an appetite as Temüjin.
[47] I. e., relaxed.
[48] I. e., "hath ability of intellect."
[49] I. e., "with the people of Činggis Qan who pursued them in order to bring them back."
[50] I. e., She died soon after.
[51] He belonged to Qasar. See §137: "They gave Jebke unto Qasar."
[52] I. e., peoples of the nine diverse languages.

of Činggis Qa'an many went so far as to assemble themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri. At [their] so assembling, the peoples subject to Temüge Odčigin [also] went unto Teb Tenggeri. Odčigin Noyan sent his messenger named Soqor [33v] for to request his people which was gone. When Te[b] Tenggeri spake unto the messenger Soqor, saying, "Odčigin and ye, [ye] twain, are [ones] having a benefit,"[53] smiting his messenger Soqor, made [him] to return on foot, making [him] to carry his saddle on [his] back. Odčigin, [forasmuch as] he had suffered the fact that his messenger Soqor, [after Teb Tenggeri] had smitten [him], was come [back] [34r] on foot, on the morrow when Odčigin himself, going unto Teb Tenggeri, spake, being told, "When I sent my messenger Soqor, smiting [him, ye] did send [him back] on foot. Now I am come for to request my people," the seven Qongqotan, compassing Odčigin from hence and from thence, saying, "Thy sending thy [34v] messenger Soqor is right," when he was being [so] done unto, [apart] from seizing [him] and [apart] from smiting [him], being afraid, when Odčigin Noyan spake, he said, "My sending the messenger [was] wrong." When the seven Qongyotan spake, saying, "If [it be] wrong, kneel, repenting," they made [him] to [35r] kneel behind Teb Tenggeri. And his people being not yet given [unto him], when Odčigin, on the morrow early, entering at the

[53] The words *Odčigin ta jirin elčiten bolju'ui*, as they stand, mean "Odčigin and ye, [ye] twain, are [ones] having messengers." Such a statement, however, is not in consonance with the context of the rest of the passage.

In a letter dated 2 December 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT proposed the following solution:

"*Elčiten* must be a textual error. The *Altan tobči* (*nova*) has the reading *ačitan* instead of *elčiten*. Cf. *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. II, p. 40, ll. 6-7. *Ačitan* means 'having a benefit (= conferring a benefit).' There is a great chance that *ačitan* is the original reading. Then it must be understood that Teb Tenggeri scoffs at Odčigin and at Soqor, just as he will the next day at Odčigin alone, when he will say in irony to the latter: *Soqor elči'en ilegü činu jöb bui* 'Thou hast been right to send thy messenger Soqor.' He confiscates the horse ridden by Soqor and, feigning to consider it as a gift or a present which Soqor had come to present to him, he said: *Odčigin ta jirin ačitan bolju'ui*. 'Odčigin and ye, both of you, ye are benefactors' (= Odčigin and thou, I thank you for the gift).

"*Ačitu kümün* is still what is said today for 'benefactor.'

"I incline very much toward this solution, not only because it is the reading which the *Altan tobči* (*nova*) presents, but also because an error *elčiten* for *ačitan* is rather easily explained. *Ačitan* and *elčiten* resemble each other graphically."

moment when Činggis Qa'an was not yet risen up, at the moment when he was yet in bed, having wailed, kneeled and spake, and having said, " The people of the nine tongues having assembled themselves in [the service of] Teb Tenggeri, I did send a messenger named Soqor [35v] for to request from Teb Tenggeri my people subject to me. Suffering the fact that they had smitten my messenger Soqor, had made [him] to carry the saddle on [his] back, and had sent [him back] on foot, when I myself am gone for to request [my people], by the seven Qongqotan compassing [me] from hence and from thence and making [me] to repent, I was made to kneel behind Teb Tenggeri," [36r] he wailed. At the moment when Činggis Qa'an had not yet uttered [his voice], Börte Üjin, rising up and sitting in the bed, covering her breast with the edge of the covering, see that Odčikin was wailing, having shed tears, when she spake, having said, " [They are] Qongqotan which have done what, those? [54] Lately they made league with one another and [36v] smote Qasar. Now, again, why make they this Odčigin to kneel behind them? What manner of behaviour] is it? They thus secretly harm even these thy younger brethren [which are] like [unto] cypresses and pines. And verily, afterward,

When thy body like [unto] an old tree
Falleth down, [37r]
Thy peoples like [unto] entangled hemp [55]

by whom will those let govern?

When thy body like [unto] the base of a pillar
Tumbleth down,
Thy peoples like [unto] a flock of birds [56]

by whom will those let govern? Peoples which thus secretly harm thy younger brethren like [unto] cypresses and pines, [37v] how will [those] suffer that my three [or] four little ' bad [ones] ' [57] govern whilst they grow up? Those are Qongqotan which have done what, those? [58] Letting it so be done unto thy younger brethren by those, how art thou seeing [that]?," Börte Üjin shed

[54] I.e., " What have those Qongqotan done? "
[55] See §254 below. [57] I.e., " my sons." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [158].
[56] See §254 below. [58] I.e., " what have those Qongqotan done? "

tears. At this word of Börte Üjin, when Činggis Qahan spake unto Odčigin, he said, "Teb Tenggeri cometh now. [38r] Howsoever thou may perform, so well as thou art able, decide thou [how thou shouldst perform]." At that, Odčigin being risen up, having wiped his tears, going out, stood [at hand], with three strong men in readiness. While it was [yet but] a moment, Father Münglig, coming with his seven sons, the seven each entering, with Teb Tenggeri sitting on the [38v] right side of the wine table, Odčigin seizing the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, "Thou wast making me to repent yesterday. Let us prove ourselves [at wrestling]," holding his collar, drew him toward the door. Teb Tenggeri, in the face of Odčikin, seizing the collar, wrestled with [him]. The hat [39r] of Teb Tenggeri, at the moment when he wrestled with [him], fell at the head of the firepan. Father Münglig, taking his hat, scenting [59] [it], placed it in his bosom. When Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "Going out, dispute [ye] with each other the might of the strongman." When Odčigin, pulling Teb Tenggeri, went out, the three strongmen which beforetime had been ready between [60] [39v] the threshold of the door having, in the face of [him], seized Teb Tenggeri, pulling [him], going out, breaking his back asunder, casting [him] unto the extremity [of the row] of carts of the left side, when, Odčigin entering, spake, as he said, "Teb Tenggeri was making me to repent. As I said, 'Let us prove ourselves [at wrestling],' not being willing, [40r] making a device, he lieth down. He was a companion which had a measure," [61] Father Münglig understanding, having shed tears, when he spake, with [his] saying, "I have been a companion

From [the time when] the brown Earth was
[only] the size of a clod;
From [the time when] the sea and the rivers
were [only] the size of a stream,"

his six Qongqotan sons, [40v] stopping the door, standing round about the firepan, when their sleeves had been rolled up, Činggis Qahan being afraid, being pressed [by them], having said, "Withdraw! I shall go out," with [his] going out, quiverbearers and

[59] See §55. [60] I. e., outside?
[61] I. e., "which was measurable." See Chapter VI, note 3.

dayguards stood round about Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qahan seeing that, having broken [his] backbone, [41r] one had cast Teb Tenggeri unto the extremity [of the row] of carts, making [one] to bring a gray tent from behind, making one to place [it] over Teb Tenggeri, saying, "Harness the harnessings. We shall journey," he journeyed from thence.

§246 [42v] When, having covered the hole at the top of the tent in which one had placed Teb and [43r] having stopped [its] door, one had caused people to watch over [it], the third night, at [the moment when the brightness of] day [was] yellow,[62] he opened the hole at the top of the tent and came out together with [his] body. When one examined, it was established that verily [it was] Teb [at] its [63] [place] there.[64] When Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "Because Teb Tenggeri had laid hand upon my younger brethren and because [to sow discord among them] he had uttered among my younger brethren a slander without [43v] fundament, he was no more loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, was carried away." When Činggis Qahan then reviled Father Münglig, saying, "Not staying the nature of your sons, as [ye and your sons] are begun to think to equal [me], [44r] ye have attained unto the head of Teb Tenggeri.[65] If [I] had perceived such a nature of you, ye would have been caused to be ones having the manner [of punishment] of J̌amuγa, Altan, Qučar, and others," [so] reviling Father Münglig, making an end of reviling [him], furthermore, saying, "If one undo at eventide that which one hath said in the morning and [44v] if one undo in the morning that which one hath said at eventide, certainly one may be talked of to his shame. Aforetime [my] word was pledged. Yea! That [sufficeth]!," he favoured [him] and, furthermore, [his] anger was abated. He said, "If [ye] had stayed your nature [which is] beyond [measure], who in the seed of Father Münglig would have equalled [me]?" One having caused Teb Tenggeri to vanish away, [45v] [as to] the Qongqotan, the confident countenance diminished.[66]

[62] I.e., "at twilight."
[63] I.e., "the tent's."
[64] I.e., "above the hole at the top of the tent."
[65] I.e., "Ye have paid for it with the head of Teb Tenggeri."
[66] See §208 above.

Chapter XI

§247 [1r] After that, Činggis Qahan in the year of the sheep [1211] set forth against the Kitad people. Taking Wujiu,[1] passing by Hünegen Daba'an,[2] taking Söndüwu,[3] he sent the twain, Jebe and Güyigüneg Ba'atur, as vanguards. [1v] Arriving [at] Čabčiyal,[4] the Čabčiyal pass being defended, then when Jebe spake, saying, "When, enticing them and making [them] to remove, I shall make [them] to come, then I shall try [them]," he returned. It being returned [by him], the soldiers of the Kitad, saying, "Let us pursue [him]," draw nigh in pursuit till the valleys and the mountains become full [of them]. Arriving at the spur of Söndüwu [2r] Jebe turned about backward, rushed upon [them], and overcame the enemies which were drawing nigh in succession. Činggis Qahan—[his] middle army following hard after [Jebe]—making the Kitad to remove, crushing the bold and courageous soldiers of the Jüyin of the Qara Kidad and of the Jürčed, slaying [them] until Čabčiyal, till they stood like rotten trees,[5] Jebe, taking [2v] the gate of Čabčiyal, wresting the passes, passing by [them], Činggis Qahan pitched [at] Šira Degtür.[6] Assaulting Jungdu[7] and, sending troops unto divers towns and [unto] cities, he made [them] to assault. He sent Jebe, making [him] to assault the city of Dungčang.[8] Jebe, arriving at the city of Dungčang, [3r] assaulting [it], [but,] not being able to take [it], returning, arriving at a place [at a distance] of six days [of marching], causing [the enemy] to be unaware, moreover, turning about, [his soldiers]

[1] I. e., Fu-chou 撫州.
[2] I. e., Yeh-hu-ling 野狐嶺 ("Wild Fox Pass").
[3] I. e., Hsüan-te-fu 宣德府.
[4] I. e., Chü-yung-kuan 居庸關.
[5] See §196 above and §§251 and 272 below.
[6] I. e., Lung-hu-t'ai 龍虎臺.
[7] I. e., Chung-tu 中都.
[8] I. e., Tung-ch'ang 東昌.

having [each] a hand led horse, at night marching all night, arriving, at the moment when [the enemy] was unaware, he took the city of Dungčang.

§248 [4r] J̌ebe, taking the city of Dungčang, returning, coming [back], joined himself unto Činggis Qahan. When J̌ungdu was attacked, when Ongging Čingsang,[9] the great chief of the Altan Qan, recommended unto the Altan Qan, when he recommended, saying, "[It is] the destiny and the time of Heaven and Earth.[10] Is the time when one shall exchange the great throne arrived? The Mongγol [4v] coming exceeding mightily, overcoming our bold and courageous weighty soldiers of the J̌üyin of the Qara Kitad and of the J̌ürčed, have slain till they have destroyed [them]. And they have wrested and taken the trusty Čabčiyal. Now, if we, again setting [our] troops in order, send [them] forth and if again they be overcome by the Mongγol, they will certainly disperse themselves [5r] unto their divers cities, those. Moreover, if they suffer themselves to be gathered by us, not being willing, becoming enemies against us, they will not be companions, those. If the Altan Qan favour [us], we shall, in the present time, submitting ourselves, take counsel[11] with the *qan* of the Mongγol. If, entering into counsel, the Mongγol withdraw themselves, [5v] after that [we] have made [them] to withdraw themselves, again we shall then counsel other thoughts. And, it is said, 'The men and the geldings of the Mongγol, finding the country not fit [for themselves], are consumed by pestilence.' Let us give a maiden unto their *qan*. Let us heavily send out and give unto the men of [their] army gold, silver, satins, and goods. How may it be known whether they will [6r] not enter into this our counsel?" The Altan Qan, approving these words of Ongging Čingsang, saying, "Let it, then, be thus," submitting himself, sending out to Činggis Qa'an a daughter named Gungǰu,[12] sending out from J̌ungdu for the men of the army gold, silver, satin, goods,

[9] I. e., WAN-YEN Fu-hsing *ch'eng-hsiang* 完顏復興丞相. See Chapter IV, note 9.
[10] See §194: "It is the time and the destiny of the Mongγol."
[11] I. e., "negotiate with."
[12] I. e., Kung-chu 公主 which, in reality, is not a personal name, but the Chinese word for "Princess."

and possessions, [6v] letting be decided by the might [of each of them how much] and as much as [their beasts] could carry, he came, sending Ongging Čingsang unto Činggis Qahan. Being come unto [by them] to submit themselves, Činggis Qahan, entering into their counsel, made the soldiers which, assaulting, were descended unto the divers towns to return and he withdrew. Ongging Čingsang, accompanying Činggis Qa'an until [7r] the spurs named Mojiu [13] and Wujiu, returned. Our soldiers lading [their beasts with] satins and goods as many as they could carry, tied their burdens with silks and went their way.

§249 [8r] By that fact of having set forth,[14] he departed unto the Qašin people. As, betaking himself unto [them], he arrived, Burqan [Qan] of the Qašin people, saying, "Submitting myself, becoming thy right hand, [I] shall give [my] might [15] [unto thee]," brought forth and gave unto Činggis Qa'an his daughter named Čaqa. Again, when Burqan Qan spake, he petitioned, saying, [8v] "Hearing the name and the fame of Činggis Qa'an, we have been afraid. Now, thy majestic person arriving, being come unto [by thee], we have been afraid of [thy] majesty. Being afraid, we Tang'ud people, have said, 'Becoming thy right hand, [we] shall give [our] might [unto thee].' When [we] give [our] might,

> [We] are ones which have a stable encampment;
> [We] are ones which have pounded city walls.[16]

Being companions, [9r]

> At the moment when one campaigneth a swift campaign,
> At the moment when one fighteth a sharp fight,
> [We] shall not be able to haste unto the swift campaign.
> We shall not be able to fight in the sharp fight.

If Činggis Qa'an favour [us], we Tang'u[d] people, raising [them] in the shelter of the tall *deresün*,[17] [9v] shall bring forth many

[13] I. e., Mo-chou 莫州.
[14] I. e., "On the occasion of that same expedition."
[15] I. e., devotion.
[16] See §265 below.
[17] I. e., Lasiagrostis splendens. Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 1.141a.

camels and, causing [them] to become *qa*,[18] shall give [them unto him]. Weaving woolen garments and making satins, [we] shall give [them unto him]. Teaching birds [19] which one may cast [aloft], assembling [them], [we] shall cause [one] to send the best of them [unto him]." Speaking, keeping to his word, levying camels from his Tang'ud people, bringing [so many of them] that one was not able to drive [any more of them], he gave [them unto Činggis Qa'an].

§250 [10v] Činggis Qahan, at that fact of having set forth,[20] making the Altan Qa'an of the Kitad people to submit himself, took many satins; making Burqan of the Qašin people to submit himself, he took many camels; Činggis Qahan, at that fact of having set forth, in the year of the sheep [1211], making [11r] the Altan Qan of the Kitad people, named Aqutai, to submit himself and making Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ud people to submit himself, returning, pitched [on] the Sa'ari Steppe.

§251 [11v] Again, after that, his many ambassadors having J̌ubqan at their head, [ambassadors] which he had sent to make peace with J̌au Gon,[21] being hindered by the Altan Qa'an, [named] Aqutai, of the Kitad people, Činggis Qahan in the year of the dog [1214] again set forth against the Kitad people. When he set forth, saying, " After having submitted themselves, how [12r] may they hinder the ambassadors which [I] have sent unto J̌au Gon?," Činggis Qahan, betaking himself [unto] the Tunggon [22] Pass, made J̌ebe [to betake himself] by [the way of] Čabčiyal. The Altan Qan, knowing that Činggis Qa'an [was betaking himself] by [the way of] the Tunggon Pass, suffered [his] soldiers to be commanded by

[18] I. e., government property.

[19] I. e., falcons.

[20] I. e., "on that expedition."

[21] I. e., CHAO kuan 趙官, the "Emperor CHAO," or Ning-tsung 寧宗 (1195-1224) of the Southern Sung, *kuan* being an abbreviation of *kuan-chia* 官家 "government," "emperor," a colloquial epithet of the Sung period. The theory of the Chinese scholar WANG Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877-1927) that 官 (*kuan*) is a phonetic error for 擴 (K'uo), the personal name of Ning-tsung seems less plausible, although it appears to have been accepted by Paul PELLIOT on page 130 of his article "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei" in *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929) .113-182.

[22] I. e., T'ung-kuan 潼關.

Ile, Qada, and Höbögetür—[all] three—and, saying, "[Our] troops stopping [the passage], setting in order the Hula'an Degelen,[23] putting [them] in the van, [12v] contesting the Tunggon Pass, suffer [ye them] not to pass the pass,"—the troops hasting—he sent Ile, Qada, and Höbögetür—[all] three. When [Činggis Qahan] arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the soldiers of the Kitad, saying, "[Let us defend our] soil," came to stay [his] passage. Činggis Qahan, joining battle with Ile, Qada, Höbögetür—[all] three—, made [13r] Ile and Qada to remove.[24] Both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen, rushing upon [them] from athwart, making the Hula'an Degelen to withdraw themselves, arriving, making Ile and Qada to remove, overcoming [them], slew the Kitad till they stood [as] rotten trees.[25] Altan Qan, knowing that his Kitad troops had suffered [their] slaying and making an end of [them], [13v] going out from Jungdu, fleeing, entered the city of Namging.[26] When their soldiers which remained grew lean and died, among themselves they together ate the flesh of men. Saying, "Both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen have done well," Činggis Qahan exceedingly favoured both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen.

§252 [14v] Činggis Qahan being come down Qosiwu,[27] pitched [on] the Šira Ke'er[28] of Jungdu. Jebe, breaking down the gate of Čabčiyal, making the soldiers which were holding Čabčiyal to remove, came and joined himself unto Činggis Qahan. When the Altan Qan went out from Jungdu, within Jungdu he appointed Qada, making [him] to be *liušiu*,[29] [15r] and departed. When

[23] The words *Hula'an Degelen*, glossed by the single word 種 (*chung*) ("sort") and transcribed, but not translated in the continuous translation (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 1.14r2), literally mean: "Red Garment." That they designated a category of soldiery is clear from the words 軍人 (*chün-jen*) ("soldiers") which immediately follow the transcribed words in the continuous translation. The term is comparable to that of "Red Coats" (= British soldiers) in American history.

[24] I.e., to give ground.

[25] See note 5 above.

[26] I.e., Nan-ching 南京 or "Southern Capital," also known as Pien-liang 汴梁 or K'ai-feng 開封.

[27] I.e., Ho-hsi-wu 河西務.

[28] I.e., "Yellow Plain."

[29] I.e., *liu-shou* 留守 ("[he who] stays behind to guard").

Činggis Qahan made [one] to count the gold, silver, goods, satins, and goods and things of Jungdu, he sent the cook Önggür, Arqai Qasar, and Šigi Qutuqu—[all] three. Saying that these three are drawing nigh, Qada, going to meet [them] face to face, having taken in hand satins having gold and having patterns, [15v] going out from within Jungdu, came face to face. When Šigi Qutuqu spake unto Qada, [16r] saying, "Beforetime the goods of this Jungdu and the [self]same Jungdu were [the possessions] of the Altan Qan. Now Jungdu is [the possession] of Činggis Qa'an. The goods and satins of Činggis Qa'an, behind [his] back, how, stealing and bringing [them], givest thou [them]? I shall not take [them]," Šigi Qutuqu took [them] not. Both the cook Önggür and Arqai took [them]. These three counted the goods and the things of Jungdu and came [back]. Then Činggis Qahan asked of Önggür, Arqai, and Qutuqu—[all] three—saying, "What hath Qada given?" When Šigi Qutuqu spake, he said, "He hath brought and given [16v] satins having gold and having patterns. When I spake, saying, 'Beforetime this Jungdu was [the possession] of the Altan Qan. Now it is become [the possession] of Činggis Qa'an. Thou, Qada, stealing the goods of Činggis Qa'an behind [his] back, how givest thou [them]?,' I did not take [them]. Both Önggür and Arqai took the [goods] which [17r] he gave [unto them]." Činggis Qahan then exceedingly rebuked both Önggür and Arqai. Exceedingly favouring [him], saying, "Thou, Šigi Qutuqu, hast been mindful of the great principle,"[80] he made a decree, saying, "Shalt thou not be

Mine eyes for seeing,
Mine ears for hearing?"[81]

§253 [18r] The Altan Qan, entering Namging, himself, submitting himself, making obeisance, sent his son named Tenggeri—[him] with a hundred companions—saying, "Let him be a dayguard[82] unto Činggis Qahan." Being submitted unto by him, when Činggis Qahan, saying, "I shall withdraw," then withdrew by [the way

[80] I. e., the principle that everything belongs to the *qan*.
[81] See §§188 and 203 above.
[82] A euphemism for "hostage."

of] Čabčiyal, when he sent Qasar along the Sea [33] with the troops of the left hand,[34] he sent, saying, " Pitch [ye at] the city of [18v] Buiging.[35]. Making the city of Buiging to submit itself, going yonder, passing Wuqanu of the Jürčed, if Wuqanu think rebellion, fall [ye] upon [him]. If he submit himself, passing their cities of the frontier, going along the Ula and Na'u rivers, passing over up along the Ta'ur River, come [ye], [19r] joining forces at the ' great *a'uruγ*.' " He sent with Qasar from the chiefs, Jürčedei, Alči, and Tolun Čerbi—[all] three. Qasar, bringing into subjection the city of Buiging, making Wuqanu of the Jürčed to submit himself, having brought into subjection the cities which were on the way, Qasar, coming up along the Ta'ur River, came to pitch at [19v] the " great *a'uruγ*."

§254 [20r] After that, Činggis Qahan—his hundred ambassadors having Uquna at their head being hindered and being killed by the Sarta'ul people—when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, " How was my ' golden tether ' broken by the Sarta'ul people," [36] at the moment when he set forth, saying, " I shall set forth against the Sarta'ul [20v] people,

Avenging
The avengement,
Requiting
The requital

of my hundred ambassadors having Uqana at their head," then when Yesüi Qadun, petitioned, recommending unto Činggis Qa'an, as she petitioned, saying, " The Qahan,

Passing high passes,
Passing over wide rivers,
Campaigning a long campaign,
Hath thought of setting in order his many peoples.

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[33] I.e., the Gulf of Chih-li. [34] I.e., "the left wing."

[35] I.e., Pei-ching 北京 or "Northern Capital" (in Manchuria), glossed Ta-ning 大寧, the name by which it was known during the Yüan and Ming dynasties. Cf. Lucien GIBERT, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie* (Hongkong, 1934), pp. 737 and 831-832.

[36] See also §256. "The ' golden tether ' seems to be the bond of suzerainty which, besides commercial relations, the Mongolian envoys had had mission to establish between Činggis and the sovereign of Ḫwārezm." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [209].

[Howbeit,] for the living things which have been but born [in the world], there is no eternity.

When thy body like [unto] [21r] a great tree
Falleth down,
To whom wilt thou bequeath thy peoples
like [unto] stalks of hemp? [37]
When thy body like [unto] the base of a pillar
Tumbleth down,
To whom wilt thou bequeath thy peoples like [unto]
a flock of birds? [38]

Whom of thy four sons [which are] *külü'üd* which are begotten [of thee] wilt thou name? [I] have recommended [unto thee] that of us which, at the moment when we considered [it], hath been comprehended by the sons, by the younger brethren, by the many common people and also by us, [21v] bad one.[39] Let the [imperial] decree decide [which of them it shall be]!," when Činggis Qahan made a decree, having said, " And [even] if she be [but] a lady,[40] the words of Yesüi [are] righter than right. Whosoever [ye be], younger brethren and sons, and ye, Bo'orču, Muqali and others, [22r] [ye] have not thus recommended [unto me]. I also was forgetting [it] as if [I] would not follow the forefathers. [I] was sleeping as if [I] would not be seized upon by death," he said, " The eldest of my sons is Joči. What sayest thou? Tell [it]." Before that Joči had uttered [his voice], when Ča'adai spake, with [his] saying, " When [thou] sayest that Joči [22v] should tell [it], speakest [thou thereby], charging Joči [with the succession]? How shall we let ourselves be governed by this *čul* (*?čül*) *ulja'ar* [41] of the Merkid?," Joči being arisen, when, holding to the

[37] See §245 above.

[38] See §246 above.

[39] I. e., " by myself." " Yesüi means that, if she dared to request of Činggis that he designate that one of his sons who, in case of misfortune would have to succeed him, she did it only after the entourage of the sovereign, all the people and she herself had deeply reflected whether there was cause or not to submit such a request and they had understood that it concerned a matter which would suffer no delay." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [183].

[40] I. e., a woman.

[41] For a discussion of these obviously abusive words, not glossed and not elsewhere

collar of Ča'adai, he spake, he said, "[I] have not [ever] been said [to be] other [than my brethren] by the father the Qan. How distinguishest thou me? By what ability [art] thou more [able than I]? [23r] Only by thy hardness [42] [art] thou, perhaps, more [able than I]. If, in striving to shoot farther, I am excelled by thee, I shall cut off and cast away my thumb. If, in wrestling, I am defeated by thee, I shall not arise from the ground where [I] shall be fallen. Let the decree of the father the Qan decide [which of us it shall be]!" At the moment when both J̌oči and Ča'adai are standing, holding each other by the collar and at the moment when Bo'orču is pulling J̌oči by the arm and Muqali is pulling Ča'adai by the arm, Činggis Qahan is listening and is sitting speechless. Then, when Kökö Čos, standing [on] the left side, spake,[43] he said, "Ča'adai why makest thou haste? Thy father the Qan, among the sons, had hoped for thee.[44] [24r] Before that ye were born,

The Heaven with stars
Was turning round about.
The many peoples were at strife.[45]
Not entering into their beds,
They were spoiling one another.

The earth with crust
Was turning backward and forward.
The whole nation was at strife.
Not lying down in his covering,

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attested, cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [185]-[187], n. 167. That they probably mean "bastard, son of the Merkid" (cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [196]) is suggested by the vigorous defense of the honor of Börte by Kökö Čos (see below) in reply to Ča'adai who, in calling J̌oči a *čul* (*?čül*) *uǰa'ur*, not only evidenced disbelief of his elder brother's legitimacy, but also indirectly insulted his own mother, Börte.

[42] I. e., a bad, not a good quality.

[43] Kökö Čos, it will be recalled, had been ordered by Činggis Qahan to be near Ča'adai evening and morning in the capacity of an advisor. See §243 above.

[44] I. e., "Among the sons it was of thee that thy father the *qan* had conceived hopes." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [206].

[45] Cf. II. Samuel XIX §9: "And all the people were at strife throughout all the tribes of Israel, ..."

The one was assaulting the other.[46]
At such a time,[47]
She [48] did not desire [it].
It was come to pass at the moment when [24v] the one
encountered the other [with weapons in hand].

She did not steal away, [fleeing away from
home].
It was come to pass at the moment when
the one was fighting the other.
She was not in love [with another man].
It was come to pass at the moment when the
one was killing the other.

Thou speakest so as to harden the 'butter affection' [49] and so as to sour the 'milk heart' [50] of thy mother, the holy Qadun.

From the warm [womb]
Suddenly [issuing] were [25r] ye [—thou and
J̌oči—] not born from the [self]same belly?

From the hot [womb]
Suddenly [springing] are ye [—thou and J̌oči—]
not issued from an only womb?

If [thou] cause to rebuke [thee]
Thy mother which hath borne [thee] from her heart,
Her affection [for thee]
Waxing cold,
[Even] if [thou] appease [her], it will not do.

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[46] Such was the anarchy which had preceded the birth of the sons of Činggis Qahan. In this connection, Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [192], remarked: "By the words *hodutai tenggeri horčiju büle'e*; *körisütei etügen körbejü büle'e* 'the starry heaven was turning on itself'; 'the earth with epidermis was turning and returning,' Kökö-čos means that the country was full of troubles and that, even the most stable of everything, heaven and earth, was in movement, that is to say, that all was upside down and that there were no longer government nor laws."

[47] "When thy mother was abducted by the Merkid." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [207].

[48] I. e., Börte.

[49] I. e., "soft (= warm) affection."

[50] I. e., "sweet (= kindly) heart."

If [thou] cause to murmur [against thee]
Thy mother which hath borne [thee] from [her] belly,
Her murmuring [against thee],
[Even] if [thou] make [it] to cease, it will not do.
When your father the Qan
Established the whole nation,

at the time when,

Tying his black head to [his] saddle,
Pouring his black blood into a great leathern bucket,[51]
Not winking his black eyes,
Not putting his flat ear at a pillow,
Making a pillow of his sleeve,
Spreading the skirt of his garment [for a mattress],
Quenching his thirst with his spittle,
Eating the flesh betwixt his teeth for supper,

he was pressing forward till the sweat of [his] forehead attained unto the soles [of his feet] and till the sweat of [26r] the soles [of his feet] ascended unto [his] forehead and was diligently applying himself, when your mother, together [with him], toiled and when,

Putting [her] *boyta* [on her head] so as to
make [it] fast,
Girding herself so as to tuck up her skirt,[52]
Putting [her] *boyta* [on her head] so as to make
[it] firm,
Girding herself so as to tighten her waist,
She raised you up, hers,
While she swallowed [her food],
Giving [unto you] her half [of it],
And, as [having compassion] she was obstructed
as to the gullet,[53]

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[51] "Kökö-čos means that, in founding the empire, Činggis lived continually in danger of death: 'His head was no longer found on his neck, but he had attached it to his saddle as he did with his baggage, and he could lose it at any instant; his blood no longer flowed in his veins, but he had poured it into a bucket, and it risked being shed at any moment." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [200].

[52] See §74 above.

[53] See §213 above.

She gave [unto you] [26v] her all
And she [herself] went empty.
Pulling you by the shoulders,
[Saying unto herself,] 'How shall I make [them]
to be equal [in stature] with males?,'
Pulling you by the neck,
Saying [unto herself], 'How shall I make [them] to
be equal [in] stature with men?,' [54]
Cleansing your *buyi*,[55]
Making you to lift up your heels [whilst teaching
you how to walk],

she made [you] to attain

Unto the shoulders of the males,
Unto the cruppers of the geldings,

[27r] and [yet] now thinketh she not [unto herself], saying, 'I shall see the happiness of you, mine'? The holy Qadun of us [in raising you up] had a heart

Bright like the sun,
Wide like a lake."

§255 [28r] Then, when Činggis Qan spake, he made a decree, saying, "How say ye so [concerning] Joči? [28v] The eldest of my sons, is it not Joči? [Here]after say [ye] not so." At this word, when Ča'adai, smiling, spake, he said, "Not speaking [concerning] Joči's [being] mighty nor the answer [to give in respect] of [his supposed] ability [I shall but say]:

That [prey] which one hath killed
[But] with [his] mouth,
If one [wish to] lay it [on his beast], it
will not do.
That [prey] which one hath made to die
[But] with [his] words,

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[54] See §214 above.
[55] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested.

If one [wish to] pluck off [its] skin, it
will not do.[56]

The eldest [29r] of the sons are the twain, Joči and we.[57] We shall, associating ourselves, give [our] might [58] unto the father the Qan. We shall cleave asunder the one of us which shall have avoided [his duty]. We shall cleave in twain our heels of the one of us which shall be fallen behind. Ögödei is honest. Let us say Ögödei. Ögödei being at the side of the father the Qan, if [the latter] make [him] to recognize the precepts of the hat [59] of which [29v] the appearance [60] [is] great, it will do." [61] At this word, when Činggis Qahan spake, he said, "Joči, what sayest [thou]. Speak!" When Joči spake, [30r] he said, "Ča'adai hath spoken [it]. The twain, Ča'adai and we,[62] shall together give [our] might [unto him]. Let us say Ögödei." When Činggis Qahan made a decree, having said, "[To go] so far as to associate yourselves, what is it? [63] Mother Earth is broad. The rivers and waters are many. Making broad the encampments [which are] like [such as easily] separate themselves and making [you each] to rule over a realm, we shall separate you," having said, "Both Joči and Ča'adai, keep to your word.

Suffer yourselves not to be derided
By people.
Suffer yourselves not to be laughed
[to scorn] [30v]
By men.

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[56] See §196 above. In quoting this saying, Ča'adai answers the boastful words of Joči in §254 above: "If, in striving to shoot farther, I am excelled by thee, I shall cut off and cast away my thumb. If, in wrestling, I am defeated by thee, I shall not arise from the ground where [I] shall be fallen." Ča'adai means that Joči's boasting is in vain so long as Joči has not vanquished him in reality, just as to be able to load game on a beast or to skin it, it is not adequate merely to say that one has killed, for one must have killed it in reality. Cf. also Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.* p. [128].

[57] I. e., "I."

[58] I. e., devotion.

[59] I. e., the sign of imperial authority. See Chapter II, note 67.

[60] As seen from afar.

[61] I. e., "If our father teach him the duties of the station of *qan*, it will do."

[62] I. e., "I."

[63] I. e., "What reason would there be for you to cooperate, by staying here to govern the people?"

Formerly both Altan and Qučar pledged [their] word like this,[64] but, because they did not keep to their word, how were they done unto? How were they made to be? [65] Now, [some] from [among] the seed of both Altan and Qučar, together with you, we shall separate. [31r] Seeing those, how will ye be negligent?," [66] he said, " Ögödei, what sayest [thou]? Tell! " When Ögödei spake, he said, " If, the father the Qahan favouring [me], I am told, ' Speak,' I shall speak my what? How shall [I] speak, saying, ' [I] cannot.' I shall say, ' I shall be diligent according to [mine] ability.' Long [here]after [31v], indeed, if, among my seed, there be born [those so void of valour that],

If one wrap [them] in green grass,
They will not be eaten by an ox;
If one wrap [them] in fat,
They will not be eaten by a dog,[67]

will they [not] miss an elk [which appeareth] breadthwise [as well as] a rat [which appeareth] lengthwise? [68] I say so much as this of mine. What else shall I speak? " [32r] At this word, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he said, " If Ögödei would speak such words, it will do." Again he said, " Tolui, what sayest [thou]? Tell! " When Tolui spake, as he spake, saying, " I, being in the presence of mine elder brother which the father the Qahan hath named,

Making [him] to remember that which he shall have forgotten, [32v]
Making to awake [him] which shall be fallen asleep,[69]

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[64] See §123 above.

[65] See §153 above.

[66] I. e., " The very sight of those peoples who belonged to Altan and Qučar will remind you that you cannot do as those two did."

[67] See note 73 below.

[68] In a letter dated 30 December 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked that: " The figure is taken from a hunter so unskilled that he misses beasts easy to shoot as well as those which one shoots only with difficulty."

[69] See §200 above.

Becoming

A ' companion of the [word] " yea," ' [70]
A ' whip of the chestnut [coloured] horse,' [71]
Falling not behind from the ' yea,' [72]
Missing not from the rank,

[I] shall for [him]

Campaign a long campaign,
Fight a short fight,"

when Činggis Qahan, approving, made a decree, having made a decree, saying, " Seed of Qasar, make one of you to govern. [33r] Seed of Alčidai, make one of you to govern. Seed of Odčigin, make one of you to govern. Seed of Belgütei, make one of you to govern. So thinking, making one of my seed to govern, not violating my decree, if ye destroy [it] not, ye will not err and ye will not miss. If the seed of Ögödei be born [so void of valour that], [33v]

If one wrap [it] in green grass,
It be not eaten by an ox;
If one wrap [it] in fat,
It be not eaten by a dog,[73]

will there not be born among my seed [even] one [which may be] good? "

§256 [35r] When Činggis Qahan set forth and when he sent ambassadors unto Burqan of the Tang'ud people, as he sent, saying,

[70] I. e., " a companion of the word by which one expresses his consent." In other words, " I shall keep to the promise which I promised." See Chapter III, note 16.

[71] I. e., " I shall be the whip by which the chestnut-colored horse will be made to advance." See Chapter III, note 17.

[72] I. e., " Once I shall have said, ' Yea,' I shall keep to my word."

[73] As remarked by Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.* p. [163], n. 154: " This saying quoted by Činggis still lives in the dialects. The *Ülemǰi ügen-ü ögedesü*, a collection of sayings and proverbs collected by Oyunbilig of the Čaqar in collaboration with Nasundalai of the J̌asaγ banner of the Ordos and published in 1948 in Nanking, gives it on page 9 under the following form: *Ebesün-dü boγobaču üker singsikü ügei, ögekün-dü boγobaču noqai singsikü ügei.* ' One envelops it in grass in vain, an ox does not [even] scent it; one envelops it in fat in vain, a dog does not [even] scent it.' "

"Thou hast said, 'I shall be [thy] right hand.' My 'golden tether' being broken by the Sarta'ul people,[74] I have set forth to take account of [him]. Set [thou] forth, being [my] right hand," [35v] before that Burqan had uttered [his voice], first, when Aša Gambu spake, saying, "Since [his] might is not able [to overcome others], why [go] so far as to become *qan*?," not adding troops [unto those of Činggis Qahan], speaking great words, he sent [back the ambassadors]. Then, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "How could [we] have been thus spoken [unto] by Aša Gambu?," saying, "[As for the best] of the [divers] devices [considered], [36r] if [we] sent unto them, then betaking ourselves circuitously, [we] would have what difficulty? [But,] at the moment, indeed, when we betake ourselves unto other people, yea, that [sufficeth]! If I be protected by Everlasting Heaven, if I come [back], strongly pulling [in] the 'golden reins,'[75] then, indeed, let that be [done]."

§257 [36v] In the year of the hare [1219], when, passing by Arai,[76] he set forth against the Sarta'ul people, when Činggis Qahan, taking Qulan Qatun[77] from the *qatun*, [37r] went a warfare, from the younger brethren he assigned Odčigin Noyan unto the "great *a'uruy*" and set forth. He sent J̌ebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei as succourer of J̌ebe. He sent Toqučar as succourer of Sübe'etei. When he sent these three, he sent, saying, "Go outside. Go out to the yonder side of the Sultan,[78] and, [37v] waiting until We arrive, assault [him] from your side." J̌ebe—that [one]—going out, passing the cities of Qan Melig,[79] not touching [them], passed by outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei after the same manner, not touching [them], passed by. Behind him, Toqučar robbed the frontier cities of Qan Melig and [38r] spoiled his husbandmen. Qan Melig, saying, "My cities have been robbed," removing in revolt, joined himself unto J̌alalding Soltan.[80] Both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan

[74] See §254 above. See also §265 below.
[75] See §275 below.
[76] See Chapter VIII, note 2.
[77] I.e., the daughter of Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkid. See §197 above.
[78] I.e., J̌alalding Soltan mentioned below.
[79] I.e., M(a)l(i)k Xān or Amīn al-M(u)lk.
[80] I.e., J̌(a)lāl al-Dīn S(u)ltān.

Melig set forth against Činggis Qa'an. In front of Činggis Qa'an, Šigi Qutuqu went as vanguard. [38v] Standing in array with Šigi Qutuqu, both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig overcame Šigi Qutuqu and, at the moment when, overcoming [him] until they arrived at Činggis Qahan, they were going forward, J̌ebe, Sübe'etei, and Toqučar—[all] three—entering behind both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig, moreover, overcoming [them], having slain [them], overcoming them, not suffering [them] to join forces in the cities of Buqar,[81] Semisgab,[82] and [39r] Udarar,[83] when, pursuing [them], they suffered the fact that they went unto the Šin River,[84] as they began to enter, hurling themselves into the Šin River, their many Sarta'ul perished there in the Šin River. Both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig, saving their lives, fled away [39v] up along the Šin River. Činggis Qahan departing up along the Šin River, going, spoiling Badkesen,[85] reaching the Eke Stream[86] and the Ge'ün Stream,[87] pitched [on] the Baru'an Plain.[88] Sending Bala the J̌aliyar,[89] making [him] to pursue both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig, exceedingly favouring both J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, saying, "J̌ebe, thou [40r] hadst the name J̌iryo'adai. Coming from the Tayiči'ud, thou art become J̌ebe.[90] Toqučar, by his own will, robbing the frontier cities of Qan Melig, made Qan Melig to revolt. Making [this a matter of] ordinance, [we] shall behead [him]," making an end of [so] saying, moreover, not beheading [him], exceedingly rebuking [him], punishing [him], made [him] to descend from his [40v] commanding an army.

[81] I. e., B(u)xārā.

[82] Although I transcribe this name as it appears in the text, it is an obvious error for *Semisgen* attested in 50v4 below. On page 159 of his review of Erich HAENISCH's "Die letzten Feldzüge . . ." (see Chapter VIII, n. 2) Paul PELLIOT remarked: "The transcription supposes simply 'Semisgab'; I shall show elsewhere how Sämisgab must have been born, by graphic alteration, from Sämisgänt = Sämiz-känt, Samarkand." The name *Sämiz Känd* is Turkish and means "Fat City."

[83] I. e., Utrār (~Otrār).

[84] I. e., the Sindh or Indus.

[85] I. e., B(a)dāxšān.

[86] I. e., "Mother Stream."

[87] I. e., "Mare Stream."

[88] I. e., "P(a)rwān Plain."

[89] *J̌aliyartai* is a variant of *J̌alayirtai*. See §246 below.

[90] See §147 above.

§258 [41r] And so Činggis Qahan returning from the Barula Plain,[91] sent the three sons, J̌oči, [41v] Ča'adai, and Ögödei, saying, " Passing over the Amui River [92] with the soldiers of the right hand,[93] pitch [ye at] the city of Ürünggeči." [94] He sent Tolui, saying, " Pitch [ye at] the many cities having Iru [95] and Isebür [96] at their head." Činggis Qahan himself pitched [at] the city of Udirar.[97] When the three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai, and [42r] Ögödei, sent petitioning, as they sent petitioning, saying, " Our armies are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. According to the words of whom of us shall we act?," when Cinggis Qahan made a decree, he sent, saying, " Act [ye] according to the words of your [brother] Ögödei."

§259 [42] And so Činggis Qahan, bringing into subjection the City of Udurar,[98] removing from the city of Udurar,[99] [43r] pitched [at] the city of Semisgab.[100] Removing from the city of Semisgab, he pitched at the city of Buqar. Then Činggis Qahan, awaiting Bala, [at] the ridge of Altan Γorqan,[101] summering [at] the summer house of the Soltan, sent messengers unto Tolui. As he sent, saying, " The year [102] is become hot. The other armies are pitching. Join thou thyself unto Us," Tolui taking cities [43v] such as Iru and Isebur, breaking the city of Sisten,[103] at the moment when he was breaking the city of Čügčeren,[104] returning, being come, pitching, joined himself unto Činggis Qahan.

[91] *Baruda* is an obvious error for *Baru'an* found in §257 above. See note 81 above.
[92] I. e., the Amu Darya or Oxus.
[93] I. e., wing.
[94] I. e., G(u)rgānj.
[95] I. e., Merv. Cf. J. A. BOYLE, "*Iru* and *Maru* in the *Secret History of the Mongols*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954) 408-410.
[96] This unquestionably is an error for **Nisebür*, i. e., Nīšāpūr.
[97] *Udirar* ~ *Udarar* in §257 above.
[98] *Udurar* ~ *Udarar* (§257) ~ *Udirar* (§258).
[99] The text has *Uduber*, an obvious error for *Udurar* which occurs immediately above.
[100] See note 76 above.
[101] This is glossed " place-name."
[102] I. e., " the weather."
[103] I. e., Sīstān.
[104] I. e., Č(u)qč(a)rān or Herat. Cf. BOYLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405.

§260 [44r] The three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai, and Ögödei, bringing into subjection the city of Örünggeči, parting the one unto the other the peoples of the cities all three, did not bring forth a part for Činggis Qa'an. When these three [44v] sons came to pitch, Činggis Qahan, rebuking the three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai, and Ögödei, for three days did not suffer [them] to present themselves. Then, when Bo'orču, Muqali, and Šigi Qutuqu—[all] three—petitioned, as they petitioned, saying, "Making the *soltan* of the Sarta'ul people which had not submitted themselves to stoop down, we have taken their cities and [45r] people. The city of Örünggeči which, being parted, is taken and the sons which part and take [it] all are [possessions] of Činggis Qa'an. Our might being increased by Heaven and Earth, at the moment when we have made the Sarta'ul people to stoop down so much as this, we, thy many men and geldings, [45v] are rejoicing and . . ? . .[105] Why is the Qahan thus wroth? The sons, perceiving their wrong, have been afraid. Let them learn their after[math]. [We] fear lest the princes become negligent [as to] their nature.[106] If [thou] favour [them] and if [thou] suffer [them] to present themselves, will it [not] do?," Činggis Qahan being pacified, suffering the three [46r] sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai, and Ögödei, to present themselves, when he rebuked them,

Quoting
Old words,
Citing
Ancient words,[107]

chiding [them]

Till they almost sank into the earth [at the
place] where they were standing;

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[105] The word *maqaiǰu*, not glossed, is the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰu* of a verb *maqai-*, not elsewhere attested.

[106] In his letter of 30 December 1954 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "The sense is: 'We fear that, if you treat them so harshly, the princes may be discouraged and lose the zeal to fulfill their duty of which they have given evidence up to the present.'"

[107] See §78 above.

Till they were not able to wipe the sweat of
[their] foreheads,[108]

at the moment when he was proclaiming by rebuke and by admonition, when Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaγar Qorči, and Čormaqan Qorči—these [46v] three quiverbearers—petitioned unto Činggis Qa'an, when they petitioned, saying, "At the moment when, [even] as gray falcons but enter into training, the sons are learning to go a warfare but so much as this, breaking the spirit of the sons, why rebukest [thou] thus as if in heaps?[109] We fear lest the princes, being afraid, become negligent [as to] their thoughts. From [the place] where the sun setteth unto [the place] where the sun riseth, there are enemy peoples. [47r] When, provoking [us], [thou] sendest us, thy 'Töbödüd dogs,'[110] enemy people, we—[our] might being increased by Heaven and Earth—gold, silver, satins, possessions, [subject] people and folk shall bring for thee. If [thou] say, 'Which people?,' [47v] [one] saith, '[In] this west there is he who calleth himself the Qalibai Soltan[111] of the Baγtad[112] people.' [We] shall go a warfare against him," the Qahan, abating [as to his anger], being pacified at these words, when Činggis Qahan, approving, made a decree, favouring the three quiverbearers, Qongqai, Qongtaγar, and Čormaqan, [he said,] "Let both Qongqai of the Adargid and Qongtaγar of the Dolonggir be at [48r] my side." He made Čormaqan of the Öteged to go a warfare against the Baγtad people, against the Qalibai Soltan.

§261 [49r] Again he made Dörbei Doγšin of the Dörbed to campaign against Aru,[113] Maru,[114] and the city of Abtu[115] of the Madasari[116] people between both the Hindus people and the Baγtad people.

[108] Because there was so much of it.

[109] I. e., "with volubility." See §41 above. The three quiver-bearers mean that Činggis Qahan uttered a continuous stream of maledictions.

[110] I. e., "Tibetan dogs."

[111] I. e., Nāṣ(i)r, caliph of Baghdad.

[112] I. e., Baghdad.

[113] I. e., Herat? Cf. BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[114] I. e., Merv. Cf. BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[115] This place has not yet been identified.

[116] These people have not yet been identified.

§262 Again he made Sübe'etei Ba'atur to go a warfare northward unto these eleven tribes of realms and peoples: Qanglin,[117] Kibča'ud,[118] [49v] Bajigid,[119] Orusud,[120] Majarad,[121] Asud,[122] Sasud,[123] Serkesüd,[124] Kešimir,[125] Bolar,[126] and Kerel [127] and, making [him] to cross the Idil [128] and the J̌ayaγ [129] rivers full of water, [he made] Sübe'etei Ba'atur [to go a warfare] unto the city of Kiwa Menkermen.[130]

§263 [50r] Again, when, making an end of taking the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qahan had made a decree, appointing *daruγačin* in cities and cities, there coming from the city of Ürünggeči two [50v] Sarta'ul of the Qurumši [131] clan, father and son, whose names were Yalawači [132] and Masqud,[133] speaking unto Činggis Qa'an the customs and laws of the city, [the latter] being told so as to know [the custom after which cities are governed] like unto [that

[117] I. e., Qangli. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p. 128.

[118] This is the plural of Kipčaγ (= Qipčaγ). Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[119] This is the plural of *Bajigir (= Bačγïrd ~ Bašγïrd). Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[120] This is the plural of Orus. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[121] This is the plural of Majar. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[122] This is the plural of As. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[123] This is the plural of *Sas or *Sasun. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129. In §270 below, however, the name is transcribed *Sesüd*.

[124] This is the plural of Serkes (=Čerkes). Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[125] This constitutes a problem. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[126] This is erroneously transcribed *Buqar* in §270 below.

[127] The text has *Raral*, an obvious error for *Kerel*. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 2, and p. 129, n. 3.

[128] I. e., Volga. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129. *Idil* (§262) ~ *Adil* (§270) ~ *Eǰil* (§274).

[129] I. e., Ural. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[130] This is a compound city-name. Although the text has *Kiwamen Kermen*, it is clear from *Kiwa* in §274 below as well as *Mekedmen Kermen Keyibe* (itself an error for *Meked Menkermen Keyibe*) in §270 below that the final syllable *-men* of *Kiwamen* is, in reality, the initial syllable of *Kermen*. Kiwa (§§262 and 274) ~ Keyibe (§270) is the Russian Kiev. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 4. Menkermen was the Turkish name of Kiev. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 1, and p. 129, n. 4.

[131] *Qurumši* is a metathetic form of **Qurusmi*, i. e., *Xwār(i)zmī*, the ethnic of *Xwār(i)zm*. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, "Le nom du *χwārizm* dans les textes chinois," *T'oung Pao* 34 (1938-1939).146-152 (p. 150).

[132] I. e., Maḥmūd Yalavač. The name *Yalavač* means "Envoy" in Turkish. Cf. PELLIOT, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p. 149.

[133] I. e., Mas'ūd.

which] the custom [truly is],[134] [51r] appointing his son—the Qurumši Masqud—, making [him] to govern with our *daruγas* cities having at their head Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggeči, Udan,[135] Kisγar,[136] Uriyang,[137] and Güsen Daril [138] and bringing his father, Yalawači, he brought [him], making [him] to govern the city of J̌ungdu of the Kitad. Because among the Sartaγtai people both Yalawači and Masqud are skilful in the laws and customs of cities, he appointed [them], with [our] *daruγas*, making [them] to govern the Kitad people.

§264 [51v] [Činggis Qahan] going seven years in [the countries of] the Sarta'ul people, then at the moment when he was awaiting Bala the J̌alayir,[139] Bala [52r] passing over the Šin River, pursuing both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig unto the country of the Hindus, losing both J̌alalding Soltan and Qan Melig, seeking [them] unto the middle of the Hindus, not being able [to find them], returning, having spoiled the people of the frontier of the Hindus, having taken many camels and many gelded he goats, he came [back]. [52v] Then Činggis Qahan, returning, summering on the way at the Erdiš, in the autumn of the year of the cock [1225], the seventh year [of the campaign], pitched at the *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tula [River].

[134] I. e., "so as to have an adequate idea of the custom whereby cities are governed."
[135] I. e., Khotan. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923).127.
[136] *Kisγar* = *Kišγar* <? **Kašγar*, the Turkish *Kašγar*.
[137] This is an error for *Yarkend*, the Turkish *Yar Känd* "Bluff City."
[138] This is an error for *Güsen* (~*Küsen*) *Darim* (~*Tarim*).
[139] See note 89 above.

Chapter XII

§265 [1r] Wintering that winter, saying, "I shall set forth against the Tang'ud people," newly numbering the number,[1] in the autumn of the year of the dog [1226] Činggis Qahan set forth against the Tang'ud people. From the *qadund*, taking [with him] Yesüi Qadun, he departed. As, on the way, in the winter, he hunted the many wild horses of [1v] Arbuqa, Činggis Qahan was riding J̌osotu Boro.[2] When the wild horses came, passing by, J̌osotu Boro being terrified, when Činggis Qahan fell from the horse, his flesh paining exceedingly, he pitched [at] Čo'orqad. As he passed that night, when, on the morrow, [2r] Yesüi Qadun spake, she said, "Princes and chiefs, talk [ye] unto one another. The Qahan, at night, hath passed the night, [his] flesh [being] hot." Then when the princes and chiefs assembled themselves, when Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotad spake, advising [them], as he said, "The Tang'ud people are

Ones which have pounded city walls;
Ones which have a stable encampment.[3]
They [2v] will not depart, carrying their
pounded city walls, those.
They will not depart, forsaking their stable
encampment, those.

We, withdrawing, when the flesh of the Qahan becometh cool, again, moreover, we shall set forth," all the princes and chiefs approving this word, when they petitioned unto Činggis Qahan, when Činggis Qahan spake, saying, "The Tang'ud people will say that we, [our] hearts [3r] failing [us], are returned. If then, sending ambassadors, [while] trying the sickness[4] at this [self]same Čo'or-

[1] See §191 above.

[2] This is the name of a horse, signifying "Red-Earth Gray."

[3] See §249 above.

[4] I. e., "while seeing what turn the sickness will take." For the reading *ebečin-i . . . sobilaǰu* ("trying . . . the sickness") instead of the reading *elčin-i . . . sobilaǰu* ("trying . . . the ambassadors") cf. Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.*, pp. [217]-[220].

qad, we shall withdraw ourselves [after] considering their [6] word,[6] it will do,"[7] then when he sent, letting [his] voice [8] be carried by the ambassadors, as he sent, saying, "When, beforetime, Burqan, thou didst speak, [thou] didst say, 'We Tang'ud people shall be thy right hand.'[9] Being so told [3v] by thee, when I sent, requesting, saying, '[Forasmuch] as it was not entered into agreement by the Sarta'ul people, I shall set forth [against them],' thou, Burqan, not keeping to thy word and not giving troops, art come, deriding [me] by [thy] word.[10] At the moment when I betook myself elsewhere, saying, 'I shall verify [this here]after,' setting forth against [4r] the Sarta'ul people, being protected by Everlasting Heaven, making the Sarta'ul people to submit themselves unto uprightness,[11] I draw nigh, saying, 'Now, to [the face of] Burqan, [I] shall verify the word,'" when Burqan spake, he said, "I spake not [unto thee] words of derision." When Aša Gambu spake, he sent, saying, "I spake words [4v] of derision. And, as to now, if ye, Mongγol, being accustomed to battle, say, 'Let us join battle,' —as for me, I have an Alašai encampment, *terme*[12] tents, and camels' burden[13]—betaking yourselves [unto] Alašai, come [ye] unto me. Let us there join battle. If [ye] [5r] need gold, silver, satins, and possessions, betake [ye] yourselves to Eriγaya or Erije'ü." When they brought this word unto Činggis Qahan, when Činggis Qahan—when [his] flesh was [yet] hot—spake, he said, "Yea! That [sufficeth]! Suffering [him] to speak such great words, how can [we] withdraw ourselves? When [we] die,[14] let us go,

[6] I. e., of the Tang'ud.

[8] I. e., reply.

[7] "Činggis means: 'We shall not return now, for fear that the Tangγud may say that we are cowards. We shall send messengers to them and meanwhile we shall stay here and shall see what turn my malady will take. If it is aggravated, we shall always be able to take the road back, after we shall have taken cognizance of the reply that our envoys will have brought back to us.'" Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [218].

[8] I. e., message.

[9] See §§249 and 256 above.

[10] This is an allusion to the words of Aša Gambu in §256 above.

[11] For a similar figure, see, for example, the words "making straight" in §202 above.

[12] A type of tent glossed "spread tent."

[13] Cf. II. Kings §9: "So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present with him, even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, ..."

[14] I. e., "although we may die."

relying upon the great words," and, saying, " Everlasting [5v] Heaven, decide thou [which of us is right]," Činggis Qahan, betaking himself [unto] Alašai, arriving [there], joining battle with Aša Gambu, overcoming Aša Gambu, causing [him] to fortress himself on Alašai, taking Aša Gambu, caused [one] to spoil his people which had *terme* tents and which had camels' burden, till they blew away after the manner of the ashes [of the hearth]. He made a decree, saying, " Slaying the bold and the courageous, the male and the good Tang'udud, take [ye] for the men of the armies such and such Tang'udud as many as ye can hold in hand and as many as ye can get."

§266 [7r] Činggis Qahan, summering on [Mount] Časutu, sent soldiers and caused [them] to spoil till they wholly [15] destroyed the Tang'udud having *terme* tents and having camels' burden, [7v] which with Aša Gembü [16] had gotten them to the mountain and had rebelled. Then, when he shewed favour unto the twain, Bo'orču and Muqali, he made a decree, saying, " Let them take till they know by [their] might [how much of it they shall take]. Again, when Činggis Qahan made a decree, when he gave favours unto the twain, [8r] Bo'orču and Muqali, he made a decree, saying, " Saying [unto myself,] ' [I] have not given [unto you a part] from the Kitad people,' ye twain, equally parting [them], take the Jüyin of the Kitad people. Making their good sons to hold your falcons in hand, go [ye], making [them] to follow [you]. Raising up their good daughters, [8v] make [ye them] to order the skirts [of the garments] of your wives. The trusty favourites of the Altan Qan of the Kitad people are the Qara Kitad Jüyin people which made an end of the grandfathers and fathers of the Mongγol. Now my trusty favourites are ye twain, Bo'orču and Muqali."

§267 [9r] Činggis Qahan, removing from [Mount] Časutu, [9v]

[15] In an oral communication of 10 September 1953, confirmed by a written communication of 17 September 1953, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT interpreted the word *onoγsa'ar* " according to the fact of having counted " to signify " totally " or " entirely."

[16] To judge by the comitative suffix *-lü'e* (" with "), the name transcribed *Gambu* elsewhere in the *Secret History* was here read *Gembü*.

pitching [at] the city of Uraqai, removing from the city of Uraqai, at the moment when he was breaking the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came for to present himself unto Činggis Qahan. Then, when Burqan presented himself, at the moment when he presented himself with [gifts consisting] first [in] golden images of Buddha,[17] [and, besides those, in] bowls and [other] vessels of gold and of silver, nine and nine, [in] boys and girls, nine and nine, [in] geldings and camels, nine and nine, and [in yet] every kind of [other] things, having distributed [them] after their colours and forms, nine and nine, [Činggis Qahan] made Burqan to present himself [at the outside of the tent] in [a manner in which] the door [was] closed. At that presenting himself, within Činggis Qahan the heart revolted. On the third day, when Činggis Qahan made a decree—giving unto Iluqu Burqan the name Šiduryu [18] and [10v] suffering the fact that Iluqu Burqan Šiduryu was come—then Činggis Qahan, saying, "Cause [ye] Iluqu to pass away," made a decree, saying, "Let Tolun Čerbi lay hand [upon him] and cause [him] to pass away." Then, as Tolun Čerbi made [one] to report, saying, "[I] have laid hand upon Iluqu and have accomplished [the deed]," when Činggis Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "At the moment when I was drawing nigh unto the Tang'ud people to verify the words [of Iluqu Burqan], he who, when, [11r] on the way, I had hunted the wild horses of Arbuqa, dealing sparingly with my life and body advised [me] words [of advice], saying [concerning] my flesh which ached, 'Let it heal,' was Tolun. At the word of poison of a "companion," [19] coming, [Our] might being increased by Everlasting Heaven, making [him] to enter into Our hands, We have taken Our vengeance. Let Tolun take [11v] this journeying palace which Iluqu hath brought, together with the bowls and the vessels."

§268 [12r] Spoiling the Tang'ud people, making Iluqu Burqan to be Šiduryu, accomplishing [20] him, causing the mothers and the

[17] The word *sümc* is glossed 佛每 (*Fo-mei*) "Buddhas," but the meaning, as indicated by Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [223], is "figures."

[18] I. e., "Upright."

[19] See Chapter VII, note 25.

[20] I. e., killing.

fathers of the Tang'ud people, unto the seed of the seed, to vanish *muquli musquli*,[21] he made a decree, saying, " While [I] eat [12v] food, saying, ' [They are] vanished *muquli musquli*,' making [them] to die and destroying [them], be [ye], saying [this]." Because the Tang'ud people, [after] speaking a word, kept not to the word, Činggis Qahan going a warfare a second time against the Tang'ud people, destroying the Tang'ud people, [13r] coming [back], in the year of the pig [1227] Činggis Qahan is ascended to Heaven. After that he was ascended, one gave exceedingly unto Yesüi Qadun from the Tang'ud people.

§269 [13v] In the year of the rat [1228] the princes of the right hand [22] having at their head Ča'adai and Batu, the princes of the left hand having at their head Odčigin Noyan, Yegü, and Yesünge, the princes of the middle having at their head Tolui, the daughters, the sons in law, the captains of ten thousand and [those] of a thousand, being a multitude, [14r] wholly assembling at Köde'ü Aral of the Kelüren [River], according to the same decree by which Činggis Qahan had named [him],[23] raised up Ögödei Qahan as *qan*. Elder Brother Ča'adai, raising up his younger brother Ögödei Qahan as *qan*, both Elder Brother Ča'adai and Tolui delivered unto Ögödei Qahan the nightguards, the quiverbearers, and the eight thousand dayguards which had been guarding the " golden life " of their father Činggis Qahan and the private slaves and the ten thousand guards which had been walking in the presence of the person of [14v] his [24] father the Qan. After the same manner they delivered the people of the middle.

§270 [15r] Ögödei Qahan suffering himself to be raised up as *qan*, after suffering [one] to cause the ten thousand guards which walk within and the people of the middle to be for himself, first [of all] taking counsel with Elder Brother Ča'adai, made to go a warfare

[21] These two words (here and immediately below), not glossed, are not elsewhere attested, but they obviously are descriptive of the manner in which the Tang'ud people were annihilated.

[22] I. e., wing.

[23] See §255 above.

[24] The word 米訥 (*minu*) " my " unquestionably is an error for 亦訥 (*inu*) " his."

both Oqotur and Münggetü, succourers of Čormaqan Qorči[25] which was gone a warfare against the Qalibai Soltan of the [15v] Baγtad people of the peoples which his father Činggis Qahan had left undone. Again, aforetime, Sübe'etei Ba'atur crossing the Adil[26] and the Jayaγ rivers full of water [16r] unto the Kanglin, Kibča'ud, Bajigid, Orusud, Sesüd,[27] Majar, Kešimir, Sergesüd,[28] Bolar,[29] and Kerel peoples, Sübe'etei Ba'atur which was gone a warfare against the cities having at their head Meked,[30] Menkermen,[31] and Keyibe,[32] being exposed to difficulties by those peoples, he caused to set forth the many princes having at their head Batu, Büri, Güyüg, and Möngge, succourers of Sübe'etei. He made a decree, saying, "Let Batu command all these princes [16v] which are gone a warfare." He made a decree, saying, "Let Güyüg command those who are come out from the middle." Having made a decree, saying, "As to these who go a warfare, let the princes which govern peoples make to go a warfare the eldest sons of their sons. And let the princes which govern not peoples, the captains of ten thousands, of thousands, [17r] of hundreds, and of tens, [these] many persons whosoever they be,[33] make the eldest of their sons to go a warfare. Let the daughters and the [imperial] sons in law, after the same manner, make the eldest of their sons to go a warfare," again, when Ögödei Qahan spake, [he said,] "And this manner in which one maketh

[25] I. e., "Quiverbearer" Čormaqan.

[26] See §260 above, where it is transcribed *Idil*.

[27] See § 262 above, where it is transcribed *Sasud*.

[28] See § 262 above, where it is transcribed *Serkesüd*.

[29] The text has *Buqar* which, unquestionably, is an error for *Bolar*. Cf. PELLIOT, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p. 219, n. 5, and p. 226, n. 2.

[30] Although the text has *Mekedmen*, it is clear from the occurrence of *Meged* (~*Meked*) in §§274 and 275 below that the syllable *-men* is, in reality, the initial syllable of the following name *Kermen*, i. e., *Menkermen*. For a discussion of the name *Meked* (~*Meged*), cf. V. MINORSKY's article, "Caucasica III: The Alān Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," cited in Chapter II, note 65.

[31] See also Chapter XI, note 130.

[32] See also Chapter XI, note 130.

[33] In a letter dated 13 February 1955, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: ". . . Or do the *olon gü'ün* form another category of people of whom the eldest sons shall have to leave on campaign? In this case *olon gü'ün* would be a synonymn of *düri-yin gü'ün*, and it would be necessary to translate by 'the people who form the great number, whosoever they be.'"

the eldest of the sons to go a warfare [17v] is from [the part of] Elder Brother Ča'adai. When Elder Brother Ča'adai came, speaking, he came, saying, 'I shall make Büri, the eldest of my sons, to go a warfare [as] succourer of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons go a warfare, the army [will be] vast.[34] If the soldiers which go out be many, they shall go in a manner whereby [their] appearance [is] high and mighty. The enemy peoples [which are] yonder are many realms [in number]. At that extremity, [they are] hard [18r] peoples—those. If they be wroth, [they are] peoples which would die at their own weapons—those. They are said [to be] ones of whom the weapons [are] sharp.'" When Ögödei Qahan spake, saying, "At that word, and by the prudent might of Our Elder Brother Ča'adai let us send out the eldest of the sons," proclaiming [it unto] every quarter, such was the manner in which he made to go a warfare the princes having at their head [18v] Batu, Büri, Güyüg, and Möngge.

§271 [19r] Again when Ögödei Qahan sent, taking counsel with Elder Brother Ča'adai, as he sent, taking counsel, saying, 'I have sat on the [throne made] ready of my father [19v] Činggis Qahan. Shall I [not] be spoken of [by others], saying, 'By what ability hath he sat?' If Elder Brother Ča'adai approve—our father the Qahan left undone the Altan Qan of the Kitad people—now I shall set forth against the Kitad people," Elder Brother Ča'adai, approving, [20r] sent, saying, "What hindereth? Assigning good men unto the *a'uruy*, set ye forth. I from hence shall send out and shall send soldiers." Assigning Oldaγar Qorči[35] unto the great palaces,

§272 [20v] in the year of the hare [1231] Ögödei Qahan set forth against the Kitad people and sent Jebe as vanguard. And so, overcoming the soldiers of the Kitad and having slain [them] till they stood like rotten trees,[36] passing Čabčiyal, making [them] to assault their towns and cities [21r] in every quarter, making the soldiers to march, Ögödei Qahan pitched at Šira Degtür. There Ögödei Qahan was attained of sickness. When, losing mouth and

[34] I. e., More so than that of others.
[35] I. e., the "Quiverbearer" Oldaγar.
[36] See §§196 and 247 above.

tongue,[37] he was in distress, when one caused to divine by divers sorcerers and by diviners, [they said,] "The lords and *qand*[38] of the land and the waters of the Kitad people, [now] when their people and folk are spoiled and [now] when their [21v] cities and towns are destroyed, rage violently [against the Qahan]." When they divined by bowels, saying, "We shall give in [his] stead people and folk, gold and silver, cattle and food," [the sickness] not abating, [the lords and *qand* of the land and the waters] rage more violently. When they divined by bowels, saying, "Could [somebody] from the persons of the [imperial] family serve [in his stead]?," the Qahan, opening his eyes, requesting water, [22r] drinking [it], when, being asked [by him], saying, "What hath befallen?," when the sorcerers reported [unto him], as they reported [unto him], saying, "The lords and *qand* of the land and the waters of the Kitad people, [now] when their land and waters are destroyed and [now] when their people and folk are spoiled, rage violently [against thee]. When we divine by bowels, saying, 'We shall give in [his] stead whatsoever other thing [they may request],' [22v] they rage more violently. When we say, 'Would [somebody] from the persons of the [imperial] family serve [in his stead]?,' [the sickness] abateth. Now the decree shall decide [how we shall do]," when [Ögödei] made a decree, as he said, "Who is there from the princes in [my] presence?," Prince Tolui was in [his] presence. When [Tolui] spake, saying, "Our fortunate father Činggis Qahan, while there were elder brethren above and younger brethren below, choosing thee, elder brother the Qahan, [even] as [one chooseth] a gelding, and feeling [thee, even] as [one feeleth] a wether,[39] pointing out his great throne unto thy person and laying the many peoples upon thee as burden,[40] gave [them unto thee]. As for me, I was told, 'Being in the presence of the elder brother the Qahan go,

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[37] I. e., speech.

[38] This is a plural in *-d* of *qan* "sovereign."

[39] In his letter dated 18 February 1955, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "'to feel' = 'to feel the castrated ram in order to assure oneself that it is fat enough to be slaughtered and eaten.'"

[40] I. e., "charging thee with the governing of the numerous peoples."

Making to remember him which shall have
forgotten, [23v]
Making to awake him which shall be fallen
asleep.' [42]

Now if I lose thee, mine elder brother the Qahan,

Of whom shall I make to remember him which
shall have forgotten?
Of whom shall I make to awake him which
shall be fallen asleep?

Verily, if mine elder brother the Qahan 'become not right,' [43]

The many Mongγol
People would be orphans;
The Kĭtad people
Would rejoice.

I shall serve in the stead of mine elder brother the Qahan.

I have cleft
The back [24r] of the *tulu* [fish].
I have cut in twain
The back of the *kileme* [44] [fish].
I have conquered
The visible.
I have pricked
The outside.
Fair of face,
Long of back

am I. Sorcerers, incant and conjure!," when the sorcerers conjured, Prince Tolui drank the water of conjuration. [24v] When, sitting [but] a moment, he spake, having said, "I am become drunk. While I rouse [myself from] my drunkenness, let the elder brother the Qahan decide how he may care for his younger brethren, orphans and young, and his younger sister in law, Berüde, a widow, until they attain unto intelligence.[46] I have

[42] See §§200 and 255 above.
[43] I. e., die. See also below.
[44] A kind of sturgeon.
[46] I. e., sufficiency. See Chapter V, note 8.

spoken my words whatsoever [I had to speak]. I am become drunk," he went out and departed. Such [is] the manner in which he " became not right."

§273 [25v] And so destroying the Altan Qan, giving [unto him] the name Se'üse,[45] spoiling their [26r] gold and silver, satins having gold and having patterns, possessions, *alašas*,[46] and little slaves, placing spies and *tammačin*, placing *daruγačin* in the cities, in divers quarters [such as] Namging and Jungdu, peaceably returning, he pitched at Qara Qorum.

§274 [26v] Čormaqan Qorči made the people of Baγtad to submit themselves. Knowing that that land was said [to be] good and that its things [were said to be] good, when Ögödei Qahan made a decree, he said, " Čormaqan Qorči sitting even there [as] *tamma*,[47] making [one] to bring [unto Us] in [each] year yellow gold, [27r] *naqud*,[48] brocades,[49] damasks[50] having [all three] yellow gold, [little] pearls, [big] pearls, *tobiča'ud*[51] long of neck and high of leg, *güring elö'üd*,[52] *da'usi*,[53] *kičidud*,[54] mules of burden, and mules [to ride upon],[55] be [ye], sending [them]." The many [27v] princes

[45] I.e., "Little Slave," this being the Chinese Hsiao-ssu 小廝.

[46] This word is glossed 淮馬 (*Huai ma*) "Huai horses," but, as asserted by Dr. William HUNG on 19 August 1955, the character 淮 (*Huai*) is erroneous. As for *alašas*, it is a plural in *-s* of *alaša*, a word of Turkish origin, meaning "horse" or "gelding." Cf. Nicholas POPPE, "The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian," *Central Asiatic Journal* 1 (1955).36-42 (p. 38).

[47] The word *tamma* seems to be the equivalent of *tammačin*.

[48] This is "a kind of gold brocade." Cf. E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Vol. II, London, 1910, p. 124. As demonstrated by Paul PELLIOT in note 1 on pages 269-271 of his article "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols" in the *Journal asiatique* 211 (1927).261-270, *naqud* is a plural in *-ud* of **naq* < Persian *n(a)x*.

[49] This is "a silk stuff interwoven with gold." Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. 124. See also §238 above.

[50] This is "a stuff embroidered in gold." Cf. BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. 124. See also §238 above.

[51] This word is glossed "Western horses." Cf. also BRETSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[52] These words are glossed "name [of a kind] of camel."

[53] This word is not glossed. It probably is a kind of camel.

[54] This word, a plural in *-ud* of *kičid*, itself a plural in *-d* of (?) **kičir*, is glossed "name of a [kind of] camel."

[55] In his letter of 18 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked in

having at their head Batu, Büri, Güyüg, and Möngge which had gone a warfare, the succourers of Sübe'etei Ba'atur, causing the Qanglin, the Kibča'ud, and the Bajigid to submit themselves, [passing over] [56] the Ejil [57] and the J̌ayaγ [58] [rivers] and breaking the city of Meged, slaying the Orusud, spoiled till they destroyed [them]. Spoiling and making the people of the cities having at their head Asud,[59] Sesüd,[60] Bolar,[61] Mankerman,[62] and Kiwa, placing *daruγačin* and *tammačin*, they returned. [28r] He made to go a warfare Yesüder Qorči, the succourer of J̌alayirtai Qorči which aforetime had gone a warfare against the J̌ürčed and the Solangγas.[63] He made a decree, saying, "Let him sit [there] as *tamma*."

§275 [28v] When Batu, from on the Kibčaγ warfare, petitioned, by messengers, unto Ögödei Qahan, he sent, petitioning, saying "In the might of Everlasting Heaven and [29r] in the fortune of [mine] uncle the Qahan, breaking the city of Meged, spoiling the Orusud people, making to submit themselves in an upright manner eleven realms of people, withdrawing ourselves, pulling the 'golden reins,' saying unto one another, 'Let us feast a feast at which we shall separate ourselves from one another,' pitching a great tent, at the moment when we are feasting, I, saying, [29v] 'As [I] am somewhat the eldest of all these princes, [I] have first drunk one or two bowls of the *ötög*,' both Büri and Güyüg being

regard to *lausas-ud* (a plural in *-ud* of *lausas*, itself a plural in *-s* of *lausa* < ? Chinese *lo-tzu* 騾子): "I think that by this word are indicated especially the mules destined to be mounted."

[56] It is obvious that a word such as *ketülǰü* ("passing over") has been omitted from the text. Cf. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 1.

[57] The gloss "city name" is an obvious error for "river name."

[58] The gloss "city name" is an obvious error for "river name."

[59] *Asud*, glossed "city name," unquestionably is out of place in a list of city names. Cf. also PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 2.

[60] *Sesüd*, glossed "city name," may also be out of place in a list of city names. Cf. also PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 2.

[61] The text has *Bolarman*, but the syllable *-man* unquestionably is the initial syllable of the following name.

[62] Although the text has *Kerman*, the syllable *-man* of the preceding name unquestionably is the initial syllable of this name, hence *Mankerman*.

[63] This is a reference to the expedition of 1218, not previously mentioned in the *Secret History*. Cf. the *Yüan shih* 元史 1 (*ts'e* 1) 20r1-3.

displeased with me, [I] suffered the fact that, not feasting the feast, they set forth. When, setting forth, Büri spake, he said, 'As Batu, then, is equal [unto us], why should he have drunk first?

The women with beards,[64]
Becoming equal [unto us], [30r]
Pushing [them] with [my] heels,
[I] shall tread on [them] with [my] feet.

When Güyüg spake, he said, 'Those women with quivers, let us, thou and we, smite their bosoms with a stick of firewood—those!' When Haryasun,[65] son of Eljigidei, spake, he said, 'Let us join a wooden tail—[unto] those!'[66] As for us, [30v] being made to set forth unto a rebellious people with a different liver,[67] at the moment when [we] were saying, 'Is it become being right? fit?,'[68] having been so told by both Büri and Güyüg, we were separated without mutual agreement. Now let the decree of [our] uncle the Qahan decide [how we shall do]."

§276 [31v] When, at this word of Batu, the Qahan was exceeding wroth and, not suffering Güyüg to present himself, spake, he said, "This inferior one, hearkening unto the words of whom, speaketh, the mouth full, [against] a person [which is his] elder brother? Let the only egg rot![69] He is rebelling at the bosom of the same person [which is his] elder brother.

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[64] I.e., Batu.

[65] The text has *Qaryasun*.

[66] I.e., to make sport of them. In an oral communication of 10 September 1953, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "The tail of the wolf hangs like a piece of wood."

[67] I.e., "of a different race," as is clear from the continuous translation (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 2.31r4).

[68] That is, will the campaign end well? See also §§167 and 168 above.

[69] In the continuous translation (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 2.33r1-2) this is rendered: "To abandon thee is like casting away a bird's egg." I am deeply indebted to Dr. William HUNG for the excellent suggestion made on 31 December 1954 that the character 鳥 (*niao*) ("bird") is a graphic error for 臭 (*ch'ou*) ("rotten"). With this emendation the passage would read: "To abandon thee is like casting away a rotten egg." With the aid of the interpretative continuous translation we may understand the words "Let the only egg rot!" to mean "Let the only Güyüg rot as an egg!"

Placing [him as] a spy
Let us make [him] to climb into the walls of
cities like mountains
Till the nails of [his] [32r] ten fingers
Are worn away through rubbing.[70]

Placing [him as] a *tamma,*
Let us make [him] to climb into pounded
hard walls of cities
Till the nails of [his] five fingers
Disappear through wear.[71]

Thou, *beter,*[72] bad, inferior Haryasun,[73] imitating whom, the mouth full, hast spoken [32v] great words unto Our seed? Let us send the twain, Güyüg and Haryasun,[74] together. [We] could have made [one] to behead Haryasun.[75] Ye would have said that [We] had shewed partiality. If [ye] say, 'As for Büri, [what will ye do with him]?' Tell [my decision] unto Batu. Let him send [Büri] unto Elder Brother Ča'adai, telling [unto him that which is come to pass]. Let Elder Brother Ča'adai decide [how he shall punish Büri]!" [76]

§277 [33r] When from [among] the princes Menggei and from [among] the chiefs, the chiefs [33v] having at their head Alčidai, Qongqortai, and Janggi petitioned, advising [Ögödei], as they petitioned, saying, "A decree of thy father, Činggis Qahan [saith],

[70] See §58 above.
[71] See §58 above.
[72] This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. Cf. *qatar* in §111 above.
[73] The text has *Qaryasun.*
[74] The text has *Qaryasun.*
[75] The text has *Qaryasun.*
[76] In his letter of 18 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT commented on this passage as follows: "Here Ögödei follows the *yosun.* Güyüg is his son; he can then punish him as seems good to him. Haryasun is a simple subject; he could have him decapitated, but he does not do it, because he could be accused of partiality. As to Büri, he does not take any decision, because Büri is the grandson of Ča'adai aqa. He says then that Batu must send Büri to Ča'adai in order that the latter punish Büri. In §277 the chronicler recounts how Ögödei takes another decision, after Menggei, Alčidai and others have recalled to him the principle posed by Činggis: *ke'er-ün üyile ke'er-e gü noyalayu büle'e,* etc."

'[If it be] a matter of the steppe, one shall decide [it] on the very steppe. [If it be] a matter of the tent, one shall decide [it] in the very tent.' If the Qahan favour [us]—the Qahan is wroth at Güyüg. It is a matter of the steppe—if, charging [him with it], we send [it] unto Batu, [34r] will it [not] do?," when the Qahan, approving this word, mollifying himself, suffering Güyüg to present himself, uttered words of admonishment, saying, "When [thou] goest, going a warfare, on the way,[77] thou art said [to deserve the words]:

Of a person with buttocks,
His buttocks were not suffered to remain [not touched].[78]

Thou art said [to deserve the words]:

Of the man of the army,
Breaking asunder the look,[79] thou wentest.

Art thou looking upon the Orusud people as having submitted themselves, fearing for [cause of] [34v] that thy fury and wrath? Thinking like as [thou] by [thyself] alone hadst brought the Orusud people into subjection, taking in hand [thine] heart of violence,[80] goest thou forward, rebelling against the person [which is thine] elder brother? It was in the decree of Our father Činggis Qahan. Was he not wont [35r] to say,

'A multitude causeth [one] to be afraid.
A depth causeth [one] to die'?[81]

Like as [thou] hadst accomplished [it] by [thyself] alone, going in

[77] I. e., between Mongolia and Russia.

[78] In his letter of 13 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "The sense is: 'of all the soldiers of Güyüg, there is none of them who has not received whiplashes on the backside.'"

[79] See Chapter VIII, note 87. I. e., "By thy brutality thou brakest the spirit of the soldiers."

[80] I. e., "giving thyself up to thy violent nature."

[81] In the continuous translation these words which seem to constitute a proverb are interpretatively rendered (*YCPS*, *Hsü* 2.36v1):

"[If] people (= enemies) [are] numerous, then people (= ye) will be afraid.
[If] water [is] deep, then people (= ye) will die [by drowning]."

the shelter of both Sübe'etei and Büjeg, joining thyself by the multitude and by all, bringing into subjection the Orusud and the Kibča'ud, getting one or two Orusud and Kibča'ud, at the moment when [thou] hadst not yet gotten and gathered the lower leg of a kid,[82] presuming on [thy] manliness, issuing [but] once from in the tent,[83] like as [thou] hadst accomplished [35v] even aught by [thyself] alone, provoking words, thou [art] coming. By Menggei, Alčidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and others,

Letting—[they] being companions [always] at hand—to restrain
[Our] heart which was risen;
Letting—[they] being broad spoons—to be caused to pacify
The kettle which boileth,

[We] have said, 'Yea! That [sufficeth]! [It is] an affair of the steppe. [Ye] have said that Batu [should judge it].[84] Let Batu decide [concerning] [36r] the twain, Güyüg and Haryasun,"[85] he sent [them unto him]. He said, "Let Elder Brother Ča'adai decide [how he shall punish] Büri."

§278 [36v] Again when Ögödei Qahan made a decree, he made a decree, saying, "When I proclaim a decree which newly proclaimeth the duties of [37r] all the guards—the nightguards, the quiverbearers, and the dayguards—which are gone at [the side of][86] my father, Činggis Qahan, when I make a decree, saying, 'How aforetime were they wont to act by the edict of [my] father the Qahan? Let them now act in the same manner,' let the quiverbearers and the dayguards after the former decree, at day, walking, [each] in his [own] way, [37v] yielding unto the nightguards at [the moment] when] there is [yet] sun, pass the night outside."[87] Making a

[82] See Chapter VII, note 51.

[83] See also §§194 and 239 above for other references to "issuing from the tent." See Chapter X, note 23.

[84] This is an allusion to the words: "if, charging [him with it], we send [it] unto Batu" above.

[85] The text has *Qaryasun*.

[86] I. e., "which have served at [the side of] my father."

[87] See §229.

decree, saying, " At night let the nightguards pass the night, at [the side of] Us. Let the nightguards stand at the door and round about the tent. Let the nightguards go round about at the back side and the front side of the *ordo*. The people which shall walk at night, after that the sun shall be set, let the nightguards seize and [thus] pass the night. Let the nightguards which have seized the people which, mingling themselves [with them], shall enter inwardly, other than the nightguards, which shall have passed the night after that the multitude [38r] shall be scattered, cut asunder their heads and cast [them] away. If at night there come a person having an urgent message, let him tell [it] unto the nightguards and, north of [my] tent, while standing together with the nightguards, let him talk with [me of the message unto me]. Let the orderers Qongqortai, Širaqan, and others, together with the nightguards, order the coming in and the going out at the *ordo* [38v] tent. Saying [unto myself], 'Eljigidei, although he was worthy of confidence, at eventide, adventuring to walk at the upper side of the nightguards,[88] was seized by the [same] nightguards[89] and the nightguards which [even as those that aforetime took Eljigidei] violate not the decree are worthy of confidence,'" he made a decree, saying, " Let one not ask the number of [39r] nightguards. Let one not walk above the seat of the nightguards. Let one not walk in the midst of the nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the people which shall have walked above or shall have walked in the midst of the nightguards. Let the nightguards seize the gelding which the person which shall have asked the number of the nightguards shall have ridden that day—[together] with the saddle and [together] with the bridle—together with [39v] the garment which he shall have worn. Let not anyone sit above the seat of the nightguards.[90] Let the nightguards collect, at the foot of the standards and drums, the spears, bowls and vessels. Let the nightguards oversee drink and food—the thick flesh."[92] He made a decree, saying, " Let the nightguards take care of the *ordo* tent-carts. If [40r] the person of Us go not out [to] war, let the nightguards go not out [to]

[88] I. e., between the nightguards and the tent. See Chapter IX, note 64.
[89] See §229 above.
[90] See Chapter IX, note 64.
[91] See Chapter X, note 6.
[92] See Chapter X, note 8.

war apart and separately from Us.[93] At the moment when We are falconing or hunting, [the nightguards] measuring and setting their half at the *ordo* tent-carts, let the [other] half of the nightguards go with Us. From the nightguards let the keepers of the encampment go and pitch the *ordo*. Let the doorkeepers [which are] [40v] nightguards stand hard to the door. Let the [captain of a] thousand, Qada'an, command all the nightguards." Again, when he appointed captains of the divers companies of nightguards, he said, "Let the twain, Qada'an and Bulaqadar, becoming one company, taking counsel, entering [into] one [and the same] turn [of service], separately sitting on the right and on the left side of the *ordo*, [41r] set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Amal and Čanar, taking counsel, becoming one company, entering [into their] turn [of service], separately [sitting] on the right and on the left side of the *ordo*, set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Qadai and Qori Qačar, taking counsel, entering [into] one [and the same] turn [of service], separately sitting on the right and on the left side of the *ordo*, set [affairs] in order. Let the twain, Yalbaγ and [41v] Qara'udar, taking counsel, becoming one company, entering [into their] turn [of service], separately sitting [on the right][94] and on the left side of the *ordo*, set [affairs] in order. Again let the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar[95] and the company of Amal and Čanar—these two companies—enter [into their] turn [of service], encamping on the left side of the *ordo*. Let the company of [42r] both Qadai and Qori Qačar and the company of both Yalbaγ and Qara'udar—these two companies—enter [into their] turn [of service], encamping on the right side of the *ordo*." He made a decree, saying, "Let Qada'an command these four companies of nightguards. Again let the nightguards stand round about the *ordo* hard by my person and let them lie, [42v] stopping the door. From the nightguards let two men enter into the *ordo* and hold in hand[96] the great wine table." Again he made a decree, saying, "[As to] the quiverbearers, let Yesün Tö'e, Bukidai,

[93] See §233 above.
[94] The word *bara'un* seems to have been inadvertently omitted from the text.
[95] *Bulqadar* ~ *Bulaqadar* above.
[96] I.e., oversee. See Chapter X, note 9.

Horquday, and Labalqa,[97] becoming four divers companies, setting in order their quiverbearers of [43r] the bodyguards, enter into the four divers companies of the dayguards for to carry quivers." Again, when he appointed elders of the companies of the dayguards from the seed of those who aforetime were commanding [them], [he said,] " Let the twain, Alčidai and Qongqortaqai, who aforetime were commanding [them], taking counsel, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard]. Let the twain, Temüder and J̌egü, [43v] taking counsel, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard]. Let Mangyutai, having commanded the succourers, setting a company of dayguards in order, enter [into service in the guard]." Again, when the Qahan made a decree, having said, " Let all the chiefs, Elǰigidei being chief, perform according to the word of Elǰigidei," again, when he made a decree, he said, " If a man of the guard, at the moment when one entereth [into his] turn [of service], neglect [this service], let one, after the manner of the former decree,[98] instruct [him by] three strokes of the rod. If the same man of the guard again, a second time, neglect [his] turn [of service], let one instruct [him by] seven strokes of the rod. If again the same man, without sickness or reason and without consultation [beforetime] with the elder of the company, a third time, neglect [his] turn [of service], [it is a sign that] he looketh upon his service [44v] at [the side of] Us as [too] difficult. Having instructed [him by] thirty seven strokes of the rod, [We] shall send [him] out of sight unto a distant place. Again, if the elders of the companies, not mustering the guards which shall have had [their] turn [of service], neglect [their] turn [of service], [We] shall punish the elders of the companies. Again let the elders of the companies, at the moment when one entereth [into] every third [45r] turn [of service] and at the moment when one changeth [place with the relief], make this decree to be heard by the guards. Having heard the decree, if the guards neglect [their] turn [of service], [We] shall punish [them] after the manner of the decree. If they do not make this decree to be heard by the guards, let the elders of the com-

[97] *Labalqa* ~ *Lablaqa* in §225 above.
[98] See §227 above.

panies be subject to punishment. Again, let the elders of [45v] the companies, saying [unto themselves], 'They have been excelled [by us] in captaincy,' not punish, without leave from Us, my guards which shall be entered equal. If one disannul the ordinance, let one declare [it] unto Us. If there be one for whom holdeth the rule that he is fit to be made to die, We shall behead [him]. If there be one for whom holdeth the rule that he is fit to be punished, We shall instruct [him]. If, saying, 'He hath been excelled in captaincy,' not declaring [it] [46r] unto Us, one lay his own hand upon [him], let one repay fists as payment of fists and strokes of the rod as payment of strokes of the rod." [99] Again he made a decree, saying, "My guards are higher than the outward [100] captains of thousands. The companions of my guards are [46v] higher than the outward captains of hundreds and of tens. If the outward captains of thousands quarrel with my guards, [We] shall punish the captains of thousands." [101]

§279 [46v] Again when Ögödei Qahan spake, when he sent, saying, "[We] shall not make to suffer the nation which my father Činggis Qahan established [47r] with labour. Making [them] to set

Their feet
On the ground,[102]
Their hands
On the earth,[103]

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[99] See Chapter IX, note 56.

[100] See Chapter IX, note 57.

[101] The continuous translation of this long section in which much of §227 is repeated consists of but a single statement (*YCPS, Hsü* 2.46v4): "Emperor Wo-ko-tai 斡歌歹 (Ögödei), according to the old regulations, once again promulgated anew the several duties of the guards and the numerous officials of the time of Ch'eng-chi-ssu 成吉思 (Činggis)."

[102] Cf. Deuteronomy XXVIII §65: "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: . . . ."

[103] I. e., "to be at peace." See also §281 below. Other examples of this interesting figure of speech are encountered in Mongolian literature. Cf., e. g., the *Altan Tobči, A Brief History of the Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 27, ll. 5-7: *tere Činggis qaγan* . . . [6] *γar* [7] *γaǰara köl kösere amurliγulǰu Čakirawati* [sic] *qaγan metü aldarsibai*: "That Činggis Qaγan . . . , making to repose [their] hands on the earth, [their] feet on the ground, became famous [even] as the Čakirawati (Cakravarti) Qaγan." The same text is

[We] shall make [them] to rejoice. [As We are] sitting on the [throne made] ready of Our father the Qahan, not making the people to suffer, for broth, from these peoples, in year after year, let one give one sheep of two years old of [every] flock. Let them, bringing forth one sheep from a hundred sheep, give [it] unto the poor and the needy [47v] amongst the same.[104] Again, when the brethren,[105] the many men and the geldings, and the [many] guards assemble themselves, how could drink be levied each time from the people? Bringing forth mares from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, having milked [them], those who are [their] milkers having herded [them], those who are keepers of encampments continually bringing forth replacements, let them [in their turn] be [48v] keepers of the milch mares. Again, when the brethren assemble themselves, [We] shall give gifts and favours. Pouring [into storehouses] the satins, the axes [of silver],[106] the quivers, the bows, the breast-plates, the weapons, and the grains of the tax on the land, [We] shall make [one] to keep watch over the storehouses. Let one, choosing keepers of storehouses and keepers of grain from the divers quarters, make [them] to keep watch over [these storehouses]. Again, parting encampments and waters, [We] shall give [them] unto the people. If [We] choose keepers of encampments from the divers thousands for to make [them] [48v]

found in the *Altan tobči* in the *Činggis qaγan-nu čadiγ*, p. 21, l. 8, with the reading *Čakrawarti*. Cf. also the *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* [*Precious Button of the Origin of the Sovereigns*] by Saγang Sečen (1604-16??). In the edition of the text published by Isaac Jacob SCHMIDT under the title of *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, we read (p. 296, ll. 18-19): . . . *kümün amitan* . . . [19] *γar γajar-a köl köser-e küsel-iyer jirγabai* ❖ ". . . the living beings which are men (= men) . . . , [their] hands [set] on the earth, [their] feet [set] on the ground, according to [their] desires, have joyed." A rather different version of the same text is found in Ц. Ж. Жамцарано, Монгольские летописи XVII века [C. Ž. ŽAMCARANO, *Mongolian Chronicles of the XVIIth Century*] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), p. 23, ll. 1-2: *teyin kü ejen qaγan-u ači-bar: kür yeke ulus.* [2] *γar γajar-a. köl köser-e küsüg-iyer jirγabai* ❖ "So by the grace of the Lord Emperor [of the Manchu Dynasty], the entire, great people, [its] hands [set] on the earth, [its] feet [set] on the ground, according to [its] desires, has joyed."

[104] In his letter of 13 February 1955 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked: "The sense is 'in the same unit,' that is to say that one must give sheep to the poor belonging to the unit on which the owners of these sheep depend."

[105] I. e., of the imperial family.

[106] I. e., "silver ingots."

to encamp in the encampments, will it [not] do? Again, there is nothing other than wild beasts in the Čöl [107] country. For the people, somewhat widely, making both Čanai and Ui'urtai to head the keepers of encampments, making [them] to dig the wells of the Čöl, let them brick [them]. Again We, when the messengers haste, [49r] make them to haste, making [them] to go round about the people. And the going of the messengers which run is slow. And it is a suffering for the nation and the people. Now We, determining [the matter] once and for all, if, bringing forth keepers of post stations and keepers of post horses from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, establishing seats and seats of post stations, not making [them] to go round about the people without urgent matters, [We] make the messengers to haste along the post stations, [49v] will it [not] do? When the twain, Čanai and Bolqadar, comprehending these matters, recommended [them] unto Us, thinking, saying [unto Ourself], 'Are they right?,' [We said,] 'Let Elder Brother Ča'adai decide. If these matters which are spoken of [in Our message to him] are fit, if he approve [them], let [the decision] be from [the part of] Elder Brother Ča'adai,'" Elder Brother Ča'adai came [in the person of a messenger], saying, "[As] I approve [50r] these very matters concerning which [Ye] have sent, inquiring—all [of them]—let one, then, so do!" Again when Elder Brother Ča'adai came [in the person of a messenger], speaking, having said, "From hence I would cause post stations to join themselves over against [yours]. Again from hence I would send messengers unto Batu. And let Batu [50v] cause his post stations to join themselves over against [mine]," again, when he came [in the person of a messenger], speaking, he came, saying, "Of all [matters, it is] the matter of making [one] to establish post stations [which Čanai and Bolqadar] recommended [in a manner] more fitting than fit."

§280 [51v] Then, when Ögödei Qahan spake, as he said, "Brethren, princes of [52r] the right hand [108] which have Elder Brother Ča'adai and Batu at their head, all, brethren of the left hand

[107] I. e., "Desert." See Chapter VII, note 11.
[108] I. e., "wing."

having Odčigin Noyan and Yegü at their head, all princes, daughters and sons in law of the middle, and captains of ten thousands, of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens have all together approved. When they approved, if for the broth of the Qahan of the Sea [109] in one year they bring forth one [52v] wether of two years old of [every] herd, what is it? [110] To bring forth one [sheep] of one year old from a hundred sheep and to give [it] unto the poor and the needy is good. If, making [one] to establish post stations, [we] bring forth keepers of the post stations and keepers of the post horses, it is peaceful for the many people and convenient for the messengers to go," all together, saying that they approved, the decree of the Qahan, [53r] [the Qahan] consulting with Elder Brother Ča'adai, being approved by Elder Brother Ča'adai, from all the people, from the divers thousands of the divers quarters, by the decree of the Qahan, [one] made to bring forth in year after year for broth one wether of two years old from [every] flock and one sheep of one year old from a hundred sheep. Making to bring forth mares, [one] made keepers of mares to sit [over them]. [One] made to bring forth keepers of mares, [53v] keepers of storehouses, and keepers of grains. Making to bring forth keepers of post stations and keepers of post horses, making to measure [the distance of] the place of seat after seat, when [one] made to establish post stations, making both Arasen and Toqučar to set [them] in order, [one] caused there to be twenty keepers of post horses at the one seat of [every] post station. At every seat, [one] made there to be twenty keepers of post horses each. [The Qahan] made a decree, saying, " [As for] the geldings [performing the service] of post horses, the sheep [54r] [brought forth for the purpose] of provisions, the milch mares, the oxen which one putteth to carts, and carts, from the limit limited from Us from hence,

> If they make a short cord to be wanting,
> Let them be condemned to [what is called]
> ' cleavage [following a straight

[109] I. e., " Qahan of all within the Seas."
[110] I. e., " nothing at all."

line passing] along the (?) hinder
part of the neck.'
If they make a spoke of a wheel in the form
of a spoon to be wanting,
Let them be condemned to [what is called]
'cleavage [following a straight line
passing along] the nose.'" [111]

§281 [54v] When Ögödei Qahan spake, he said, "[After] sitting on the great throne of my father, [as to] that which I did after my [55r] father the Qahan, going a warfare unto the people of the J̌aqud,[112] I destroyed the J̌aqud people. [As to] my second deed, [I] made one to establish post stations for that Our messengers, hasting on the way, make speed, and again for that [We] make [them] to convey our needs and necessities. [As to] yet another deed, making [one] to dig [55v] wells in places without water, making [one] to bring [them] forth, [I] made [one] to bring the nation and the people unto water and grass. Again placing spies and *tammačin* unto the people of cities in the divers quarters, of the nation and the people, causing [them] to set [them], I caused

The feet to be
On the ground
The hands [to be]
On the earth.[113]

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[111] In his explanation of these difficult lines, Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [148], n. 144, remarked: "I consider the expressions *orqol-iyar qaγas, qabar qaγas* as manners of speaking fixed by usage, kinds of technical terms which designate a legal confiscation affecting the goods of an individual condemned for a misdemeanour, in virtue of which his goods having been parted into two equal parts, the one is assigned to the Treasury while the other rests in his possession. The figure seems to be drawn from a man of whom the body has been split down the middle following a vertical line passing, from behind, by the nape of the neck and, in front, by the nose."

"Ögödei means that no matter what negligence affecting the service of the postal relays, were it as trifling as that in consequence of which there would come to lack a piece of cord, or more grave, as that which would be cause that there lack a spoke for a wheel, will be punished in the same manner, namely by the confiscation of half of the goods of the culprit." Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. [149], n. 144.

[112] I. e., the Chin. PELLIOT, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, p. 119 §281, transcribed this name "J̌a[b]qut."

[113] See §279 above.

After my father the Qahan [I] added [these] four deeds [to all those done by him]. [56r] And, again, being made to sit [on] the great throne by my father the Qahan, being gone, carrying [as a burden] upon myself my many people, then, to be conquered by grape wine was my wrong. This was one of my wrongs. [As to] my second wrong, to hearken unto the word of a woman without principle and to cause [one] to bring the daughters of the [56v] *ulus* of Uncle Odčigin were [mine] errors. Although I be the Qahan, Lord of the Nation, to deliver myself unto deeds [which were] errors without principle, this was one of my wrongs. Again secretly to harm Doqolqu [was] one wrong. If one say, 'How [was it] a wrong?,' [57r] secretly to harm Doqolqu which, in the service of his proper [lord], my father the Qan, pressed forward was a wrong and an error. Now, in the service of me, who will so press forward for [me]? I myself have declared as wrong the fact that, not comprehending, I secretly harmed a man which, in the service of my father the Qahan and [of] all, was prudent [in] principle. Again, being covetous, [57v] saying, 'I fear lest the wild beasts which were born having [their] destiny from Heaven and Earth will go toward [my] brethren,' making one to build in beaten earth fences and walls [to contain the prey], as I was [thus] staying [them], I heard words of murmuring from the brethren. It, also, was a wrong. After my father the Qahan, I added four [good] deeds [to all those done by him] and four deeds were wrongs." [114]

§282 [58r] [We] finished writing at the moment when the Great Assembly was assembled and [when], in the year of the rat [1228], in the moon of the dam,[115] the palaces were pitched at Dolo'an Bolday of Köde'e Aral of the Kelüren, between both Šilgin Čeg and. . . .[116]

[114] Of the eight deeds enumerated in this public confession of Ögödei—four good and four bad—there is no mention elsewhere in the *Secret History* of the four which are enumerated as "wrongs."

[115] I.e., the seventh moon. See also § 269 above.

[116] For a discussion of the lacuna in the text cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, pp. [259]-[260].

Index Nominum

[N. B. The names in this index are given, insofar as is practicable, in the forms in which they occur in the original text, although the case suffixes, as a rule, are dropped. Inasmuch as names in the genitive case, however, constitute complements of nouns and postpositions, it has seemed preferable to register the complexes as such, thus retaining the names in their genitive form. The numbers after the names refer to the sections of the text in which they occur. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences within a section. The English equivalents of accompanying titles, epithets, or terms designating natural features, whether used in the translation or not, are, for the most part, included in parentheses. Where possible, the names of persons are briefly identified. The following abbreviations are used: acc. = accusative, cl. = clan, ct. = city, des. = desert, is. = isle, lk. = lake, mt. = mountain, peop. = people, pers. = person, pl. = place, plur. = plural, rv. = river, and tr. = tribe.]

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Index Verborum

[N. B. This index consists of all the Mongolian words which appear in the translation, but which, for a variety of reasons, have been left untranslated. Some of them are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of unknown meaning. Others are technical terms for which there is no precise English equivalent. Still others such as *ba'atur*, *qan*, etc., are already so well established, albeit under diverse transcriptions, in occidental languages that it has seemed preferable to leave them without translation. The English translations of the Chinese glosses on all words (except those of unknown meaning) have been inserted in brackets. As in the case of the "Index Nominum," the numbers after the words refer to the sections of the text in which they occur. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences within a section. The abbreviations are the same as those used in the "Index Nominum."]

abui babui [not glossed] (a prayer formula; cf. *abracadabra*) 174

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boγtola- ["to comb out (one's) head (of hair)" (i.e., "to put on the *boγta*")] 254

borčin sono ["name of a (kind of) duck"] (Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, p. [129], n. 125, and Louis LIGETI, "Un épisode d'origine chinoise du „Geser-qan"," *Acta Orientalia*, Tomus I, 1951, pp. 339-357 [pp. 354-355, n. 25].) 200

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buyi [not glossed] 254

ča'ud quri ["official title"] (a title by which Temüǰin designated himself) 179; v. ǰa'ud quri

čerbi ["official title"] (a steward) 191 (2) (čerbin-i [acc.]), 192; v. Bala Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi, Dodai Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Ögelei Čerbi, Ögölen Čerbi, Söyiketü Čerbi, and Tolun Čerbi in the "Index Nominum"

čerbin (plur. in *-n* of *čerbi*) (*idem*) 233

čerbin ["official title of women"] (stewards) 232

čičigina ["name of the root of a (kind of) plant"] 74

čima ["sighing sound"] (an exclamation) 194

čingsang [not glossed] (< Chinese *ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相 "minister") v. Ongging Čingsang in the "Index Nominum"

čorqan [not glossed] (Cf., however, *čo'oryatai* "having a lock" in §124. It may be that *čorqan* should be read *čoryan* = *čöryan* < *čo'oryan* "lock") 115

čul (? čül) ulǰa'ur [not glossed] (? "bastard, son of the Merkid") (Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [185]-[187], n. 167, and p. [196].) 254

čuraqa ["name of a (kind of) fish"] 78

dargi [not glossed] (This may be the same as the Ordos *t'argi* "court (poils, herbe), peu profond (eau)." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome 2, p. 647a.) 90(3)

daru-yačin ["title of the officers who garrison and defend"] (plur. in *-n* of daru-yači) (an imperial governor) 263, 273, 274

daru-yas ["ones who garrison and defend"] (plur. in *-s* of daru-ya) (imperial governors) 263 (2)

da'un v. qadalun da'un

da'usi [not glossed] (? a kind of camel) 274

deresün ["mat-thorn-grass"] (i.e., lasiagrostis splendens. Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome I, p. 141a.) 249

ding [not glossed] (If read *deng* (~ *teng*) instead of *ding*, it would mean "equal." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, p. [97], n. 92.) 177

dörben külü'üd ("four stalwarts") 163, 177

dörben külü'üd-i (acc.) ["four stalwarts"] 163 (2)

dörben külü'üd-iyen (acc.) ("his 'four

külü'üd '") 163, ("my 'four *külü'üd* '") 163, ("thy 'four *külü'üd* '") 177, ("his 'four *külü'üd* '") 177
dörben külü'üd-ün minu urida ("before my 'four *külü'üd* ' [arrived]") 177

elbesü-'er [not glossed] (instr. in *-'er* of elbesü) ("by [our] *elbesü*") 189; v. elbesün
elbesün [not glossed] (a kind of prayer) 174
elö'üd v. güring elö'üd
emüskeg ["(gift of clothing which is) offered to present oneself"] (*erratum pro* emüskel *q.v.*) (synonym of *šidkül q.v.*) 96
emüskel (erroneously transcribed *emüskeg q.v.*)

gui ong [not glossed] (< Chinese *kuowang* 國王 "prince of the realm") (title granted to Muqali by Činggis Qahan) 202, 206 (2), 220; v. Muqali Gui Ong in the "Index Nominum"
gür qa ["universal emperor"] (title given to Jamuγa by his followers; title of the ruler of the Qara Kitad and of the uncle of Ong Qan) 141 (2); v. Gür Qan in the "Index Nominum"
güre'ed ["circles"] (plur. in *-d* of güre'en) 129
gürēle- ["to pitch camp," i.e., "to make a *gürēn*"] (< güre'ele- *q.v.*) 145
güre'ele- ["to pitch camp," i.e., "to make a *güre'en*"] (> gürēle- *q.v.*) 144, 146 (2), 196
güre'en ["circle" (i.e., "an encampment around which the carts are drawn up in the form of a circle for protection")] 120, 122 (6), 151, 177, 196, 205, 213; v. güri'en
güre'en-ü kiji'ar-a ("at the edge of the *güre'en*") 205
güri'en ["circle"] 90; v. güre'en
güri'en-ü kiǰa'ar-a ("at the edge of the *güri'en*") 90
güring elö'üd ["name of a (kind of) camel"] 274
gürölgü ["name of a (kind of) python"] 195

γaǰaru inerü ["to burn food in the earth and offer [it] in sacrifice"] (The exact meaning of this technical term is unknown. For a discussion of it cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [16]-[18].) 70
γodoli ["*p'o* 骨嚢 ('bone[-tipped] arrow')" (i.e., "an arrow without a point, which does not wound")] (Cf. K. U.-KÖHALMI, "Über die pfeifenden Pfeile der innerasiatischen Reiternomaden," *Acta Orientalia*, Tomus III, pp. 45-71 [especially pp. 54-61]) 112, 116
hula'an buqa ["name of a wild beast"] (lit., "red ox") (?a kind of elk) 240 (2)

inerü v. γaǰaru inerü
inggirčaγ ["simple saddle" (i.e., "a wooden saddle serving as pack-saddle for horses and oxen, without a pad and without stirrups attached")] 172
ingǰes ["(ones who) follow the bride" (i.e., "ones who accompany the bride as dowry")] (plur. in *-s* of ingǰe [~ inǰe *q.v.*]) 208 (2)
inǰe ["(one who) follows the bride" (i.e., "one who accompanies the bride as dowry")] 43; v. ingǰes

ǰada ["the ability to bring about wind and rain"; "wind and rain"] 143 (3)
ǰadala- [*nomen futuri* ǰadalaqun "the act of bringing about wind and rain"] (plur. in *-n* of ǰadalaqui [lit., "ones who bring about wind and rain"]) 143

Jalama [not glossed] (a kind of prayer) 174

Ja'ud quri [not glossed] (a title given to Činggis Qahan by Ongging Čingsang) 134; v. ča'ud quri

Ja'uqasu [" root of the *shan-tan* 山丹 (' mountain cinnabar ')"] (Cf. *shan-tan* in the *Chih-wu-hsüeh ta-tz'u-tien* 植物學大詞典 [*Botanical Encyclopaedia*], Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1933, p. 100a: " Lilium concolor, Salisb." Cf. also *shan-tan-hua* [花], *op. cit.*, p. 100a: " Ixora Chinensis, Lam.") 74

Ja'utau [" official title "] (< Chinese *chao-t'ao* 招討 " to summon [those who have not submitted] or to punish [those who have revolted] ") (a pacification commissioner) 134

Jebüge [" name of a (kind of) fish "] 75

Jörkimes [not glossed] (In the continuous translation [*YCPS* 4.26v2] we find 無人能敵 (*Wu jen neng ti*). " There was not anyone who could resist [them]." Cf. also PELLIOT and HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, pp. 200-201, n. 4.) (The word seems to mean " irresistable ") 139

Jügeli [" to suspend meat with a pole and sacrifice to Heaven "] (a kind of sacrifice) 43, 44

kičidud [" name of a (kind of) camel "] 274 (plur. in *-ud*. of kičid, itself a plur. in *-d* of (?) *kičir)

kileme [" name of a (kind of) fish "] 272 (Cf., however, *kilim-e* " esturgeon (tursio) " in J. É. KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Tome troisième, Kasan, 1849, p. 2531b)

kirü'e [" (place where) one assembles the horses "] 229, 245

kirü'ese [" (place where) one lights off a horse "] (erroneously transcribed *kilü'ese*) 131

külüg [" valiant and stalwart "; " brave and stalwart "] 201

külüg-i (acc.) (" courage ") 205

külüg-ün činu belge (" a sign of the courage of thee ") 205

külü'üd [" stalwarts "] (plur. in *-üd* of külüg *q.v.*) v. dörben külü'üd

külü'üd aγtas (" noble geldings ") 3

külü'üd kö'üd-ü'en ken-i (acc.) (" whom of thy [four] sons [which are] *külü'üd* "?) 254

liušiu [not glossed] (< Chinese *liu-shou* 留守 " [he who] stays behind to guard ") 252

moyilsun [" name (of a kind) of fruit "] (Cf. *moyil* " cerisier à grappes (prunus padus) " in KOWALEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 2027a.) 74

muquli musquli [not glossed] (words which are descriptive of the manner in which the Tang'ud people were annihilated 268(2))

musquli v. muquli musquli

naqud [" mixed gold " (i. e., " a kind of stuff made of threads of gold ")] (plur. in *-ud* of *naq < Persian n(a)x) 274

noyan [" official "; " official person " (i. e., " chief ")] v. Belgütei Noyan, Nayā Noyan, Odčigin Noyan, and Qorči Noyan of the " Index Nominum "

odora [" name of (a kind of) arrow "] 124

ong [" prince "] (< Chinese *wang* 王 [" prince "]) 134

ong qan [not glossed] (< Chinese *wang* 王 (" prince ") + Mongolian *qan* [" ruler "]) (title given to To'oril Qan of the Kereyid and which came to be used as his name) 134; v. Ong Qan in the " Index Nominum "

ordo [" palace "] 233, 234(2), 278(3)

ordo-yin bara'un ete'ed ("[on] the right side of the *ordo*") 234, 278
ordo-yin bara'un je⟨ü⟩'ün ete'ed ("[on] the right and [on] the left side of the *ordo*") 278 (3)
ordo-yin [bara'un] je⟨ü⟩'ün ete'ed ("[on the right] and [on] the left side of the *ordo*") 278
ordo-yin čerbin ökid-i (acc.) ("the maids [which are] stewards of the *ordo*") 232
ordo-yin derge-de ("[at] the side of the *ordo*") 234
ordo-yin ger-ün kö'üd-i ("the 'sons of the tent' of the *ordo*") 234
ordo-yin ger tergen-i (acc.) ["house-carts of the palace"] ("the tent-carts of the *ordo*") 232
ordo-yin je⟨ü⟩'ün ete'ed ("[on] the left side of the *ordo*") 234, 278
ordo-yin qoyina-ča ("behind the *ordo*") 234
ordo-yin qoyina'un urida'un ("[at] the back side and [at] the front side of the *ordo*") 278
ordo ger ["palace-chamber house"] ("*ordo* tent") 123 ["palace-chamber"] ("*ordo* tent(s)") 177, 190, 230, 278
ordo ger terge ["palace-chamber cart"] ("the *ordo*-tent carts") 234
ordo ger tergen ["palace-chamber cart"] ("the *ordo*-tent carts") 278 (2)
ordos ["palaces"] (plur. in *-s* of ordo) 264, 282
ötög ["wine which is offered"] (< Turkish *ötüg* "prayer." Cf. Paul PELLIOT, "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold," *T'oung Pao* XXVII, 1930, pp. 12-56 [p. 33, n. 1].) 154; ["drinking cup"] 275
ötögle'ül- ["to drink (from) a cup"] ("to cause to perform the *ötög*") 187; ["to cause to drink (from) a cup"] 189, 219 (2)

qa ["emperor"] (~ qan) 126, 141, 144; ["(that which) is connected with the government"] 249; v. gür qa
qa'atai [not glossed] 101
qad ["emperor-prince"] (plur. in *-d* of qa(n)) (rulers) 21; ["emperors"] (rulers) 74, 179 (3); ["princes"] 112; ["emperor"] (rulers) 189
qadalun da'un [not glossed] 244
qadara ["name of a (kind of) fish"] 75
qadun ["lady" (= "empress")] 189, 254 (3); v. Qorijin Qadun, Qulan Qadun, Qu'určin Qadun, Yesügen Qadun, Yesüi Qadun in the "Index Nominum"
qadund ["ladies" (= "empresses")] (plur. in *-d* of qadun) 198, 265
qa'an ["emperor"] 145 (2), 147 (2)
qahan ["emperor"] 53, 57, 58, 64, 124, 140 (2), 145, 146, 155, 197 (3), 254, 255 (2), 260 (2), 265, 271, 272 (4), 275, 276, 277 (3), 278, 279, 281 (6); v. Altan Qahan, Ambayai Qahan, Činggis Qahan, Dalai-yin Qahan-u šülen-e, Ong Qahan, Ögödei Qahan, and Qabul Qahan in the "Index Nominum"
qahan-u jarliy ("the decree of the Qahan") 280
qahan-u jarliy-iyar ("by the decree of the Qahan") 280
qahan-u mara'a ("the flesh of the Qahan") 265
qahan-u soyurqal ("the favour of the Qahan") 203
qahan-u'an ("[the possession] of my Qahan") 197
qan ["emperor"] 104, 113, 123 (3), 125, 126 (2), 127 (2), 149 (10), 152 (3), 155, 160 (2), 167, 174 (2), 177-(16), 179 (7), 181 (7), 183 (2), 185 (2), 188 (2), 189 (3), 193, 200 (2), 201 (3), 202, 220 (6), 248 (2), 254 (4), 255 (2), 256, 269 (3), 270, 281; v. gür qan above and Ajai Qan, Altan Qan, Burqan Qan, Činggis Qan, Güčülüg Qan, Gür Qan, Qabul

Qan, Tayang Qan, To'oril Qan, and Yesügei Qan in the "Index Nominum"

qan oro ("throne of the *qan*") 201

qand (plur. in *-d* of qan) 272 (3)

qaraγana ["(something) like a clump of grass"] (Cf. Kalmuk "*χarγono* Caragana (eine baumart aus den Papilionaceae)" in RAMSTEDT, *op. cit.*, p. 169a.) (a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe; cf. the American sage brush) 195

qarambai ["name of a (kind of) black duck"] 200

qaratu [not glossed] 111

qatar [not glossed] 111 (cf. *beter*)

qatud (plur. in *-d* of qatun) 70, 71

qatun ["lady" (="empress")] 64, 257; v. Qatun Börte, Qorijin Qatun, Qulan Qatun, Qu'určin Qatun, Yesügen Qatun, and Yesüi Qatun in the "Index Nominum"

qatun sa'urin-tur ("on the *qatun* throne") 64

qa'uluqa [not glossed] 75

qayiruγana ["small bird with white feathers"] 160

qokir [not glossed] 111

qo'očaγ ["name of (a kind of) arrow"] 124

qoyira'ud [not glossed] 75

quda ["family related (to another by marriage)"] (Cf. the Ordos "*χuda* les chefs de deux familles alliées par le mariage de leurs enfants, les membres mâles de deux familles alliées entre elles par le mariage de leurs enfants; . . ." in Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome I, pp. 362b-363a.) 65, 66; v. Quda Yesügei in the "Index Nominum"

qula ["yellow horse"] ("properly a horse with a fallow coat which has a black mane and tail, a black stripe covering the spine." Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [66]-[67].) 147 (2)

qunar [not glossed] 111

quri v. ča'ud quri, ja'ud quri

qu'urda'ul- ["to cause to pluck (the strings of the *qu'ur*)," i.e., "to cause to play the *qu'ur*"] 189

saqal bayan ["hog-bristles grass"] (lit., "beard rich") 105

sauγa ["human affairs" (="gift")] (Cf. Paul PELLIOT, "Sao-houa, sauγa, sauγat, saguate," *T'oung Pao* 32 (1936) 230-237.) 114, 135

soltan ["king"] (<Persian *s(u)ltān*) 260; v. also Sarta'ul irgen-ü soltan-i (acc.) in the "Index Nominum"

soltan-u jusalang '("the summer house of the *soltan*") 259

sono v. borčin sono

soqosun ["name of a (kind of) fish"] 76 (2)

soyiluγ [not glossed] (?an exclamation) 178

sudun ["name of the root of a (kind of) plant"] 74

šidkül ["gift offered to the father and to the mother of the husband when [the new daughter-in-law] presents herself before them"] (Cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, p. [32].) (synonym of *emüskel q.v.*) 96

tamma ["official title"] 274 (2), 276

tammačin ["official title"] 273, 274, 281

terme ["spread tent"] 184, 265 (2), 266

tobiča'ud ["western horses"] (plur. in *-ud* of *tobičaγ) 274

toloγ ["big felt carpet"] 189

torluγ [not glossed] (Cf. the Ordos "*t'orloχ* nom d'une plante qui croît dans les *balar* (Hedysarum fruticosum L., d'après Potanin) [. . ." Antoine MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos*, Tome II, p. 671a.)

törülmiši [not glossed] (<Turkish *törülmiš*) (In a letter dated 19 August

1954, Professor Nicholas POPPE stated: "As for *törülmiš*, this should be considered as a verbal noun in *-miš* from *törül-*, a deverbal (passive) verb in *-l-* from *törü-* 'to bear, to be born.'")

tulu ["name of a (kind of) fish"] 272 (Cf. KOWALEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 1850b: "le thymalle") (a kind of salmon) 272

turumtai ["*lung-to-erh* 龍多兒"] (For a discussion both of the Chinese gloss and the Mongolian name of this small bird of prey, cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. [27]-[29], 85. Cf. C. R. BAWDEN, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, pp. 122-123, n. 2.

učumaγ ["name in archery"; "name of (a kind of) arrow"] 174 (*učuma-'ar*), 208 (*učuma-γar*)

ulǰa'ur v. čul (? čül) ulǰa'ur

ülige [not glossed] (In the continuous translation [*YCPS* 8.48v5] we find 無性行 (*wu hsing-hsing*) "without character")

yeke a'uruγ ["great camp for the old and the young"] 233, 253, 257; v. a'uruγ

yor ["tip of a sounding *p'o* 髊 ('bone [-tipped] arrow')"] (Cf. K. U. KÖHALMI, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61.) 116

ADDENDUM

buγa'u ["*chia* 枷"] (a kind of wooden collar placed on a prisoner's neck; a cangue) 81 (2x), 83, 84, 85, and 112